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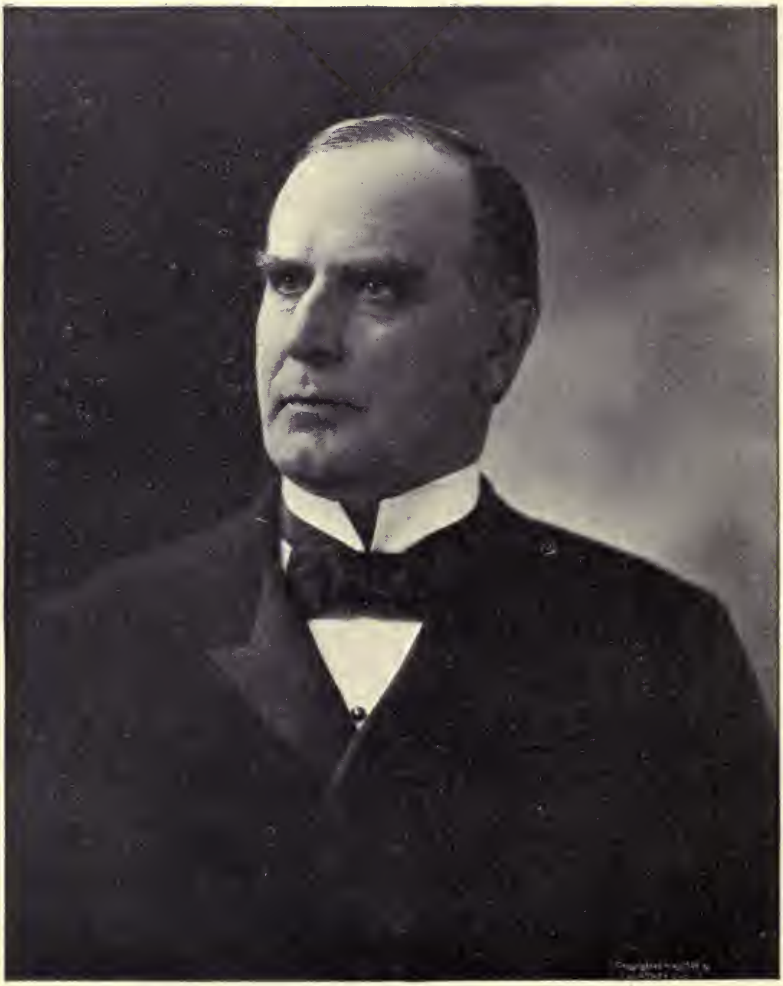

Hon. WM. McKINLEY.

Life and Distinguished Services

OF

Hon. Wm. McKinley

AND THE GREAT ISSUES OF 1896

CONTAINING ALSO A SKETCH
OF THE

LIFE OF GARRET A. HOBART

BY MURAT HALSTEAD, ESQ.

The Celebrated Journalist and Author.

WITH CHAPTERS BY

HON. JOHN SHERMAN, GEN. C. H. GROSVENOR

and COL. ALBERT HALSTEAD, of Governor McKinley's Staff

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION BY CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, ESQ.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

ON the day before Major McKinley was nominated for the Presidency, an artist distinguished for the fetching touch of his pencil in catching and fixing likenesses in a few lines, stood in the door of a room where the Major was seated, and never having before seen the famous face, was regarding it with personal and professional intensity, when an acquaintance approached him and said, "Have you been introduced to the Governor?" "No," said the artist; "not yet, presently gladly. Let me study him a moment unbeknown, just as he is. Why there is no picture that does him justice. I am right glad to see him when he has no idea of a possible sketch, and no thought of himself. I did not think so, but he is a great man. He is splendid, and there is no one like him in the country. Why did any one ever say he was not a strong man?" The artist perceived at a glance what all who study Major McKinley find out—that he is a strong man and a great one. He is a fortunate combination of excellent, admirable, and lovable traits and qualities. Alike in his boyish patriotism, adventure and bravery in war, and the experiences of his mature years in

the National Congress, and the straightforward discharge of executive duty as Governor of a great State, there has been the heroic simplicity, unselfish and constant, that has attracted the attention and popular favor of ever-widening circles of his fellow-citizens, until his glory has become a precious possession of the American people, and inspired with it they did not wait for the stated organizations to move, before they proclaimed in many unmistakable ways that he was their candidate for the Presidency, and the National Convention of the Republican party, as a representative assembly, ratified the public will. The life of McKinley shows the stronger and more graceful lines with greater strength and grace the better it is known. The office of his biographer is one of grateful satisfaction. His record is clear. There is no line for love to lament or for charity to cover—no chapter for the advocate to blot or the diplomat to obscure. This is one of the rarest of lives, shining in every part with the inner light of the truth that is honor's self; and the radiance of unclouded day reveals only stainless symmetry, and the harmony of open motives with consummate achievement. He could not advance to the elevation he occupies without encountering enmity and combatting imputation; but no charge was ever contrived that he had other fault than that of friendliness perhaps too forgiving, or of confidence too generous. He is a man who will go on growing in the affection of the gentle and the estimation of the

judicious. The potency of his character and intellect and the kindliness of his heart, declare in his presence, that the favorite disparagements in which his assailants indulge, the conventional accusations of partisan warfare, are but fictions that are frivolous. The verdict of the artist, that he is a strong, great man, will be confirmed by all the people, when the performance of the task they appoint for him becomes history.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

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INTRODUCTION.

MAJOR WILLIAM McKINLEY requires no introduction to the people of the United States. His name and fame are in every American home. It is well that the details of a career so full of inspiration should be put in permanent form, and this has been admirably done in this volume by the accomplished author. Public men fade rapidly from even contemporary memory. Only those who are so identified with a great cause or principle, that the man and the measure are one in the popular mind, can hope to survive the tread of the ever advancing column of the ambitious and successful. This rare distinction belonged fifty years ago to Henry Clay and now to Governor McKinley. Protection for American industries and McKinley are synonymous terms. The battle cries of the Republican party and the mottoes on the banners of industrial hosts are always and everywhere understood to mean also the candidate for the Presidency of the St. Louis Convention.

Heroes and statesmen are admired and loved for some striking characteristic. General Jackson has

been the idol of a great party for more than half a century, not for the ideas he gave the organization, but because he was "Old Hickory." "I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," expressed the indomitable and resistless purpose of Grant. The immortal speech at Gettysburg condensed the patriotism and pathos of Lincoln. The triumph of McKinley over obstacles in a career which would have been insurmountable for a weaker man has been due to his absolute sincerity and loyalty. His clear brain and warm heart are always in accord. His sentiment is subordinate to his judgment, but when his mind is made up his emotional nature gives a contagious enthusiasm to his efforts which secures devoted followers and lends a living interest to the discussion of the driest subjects.

A boy of eighteen, teaching school to earn money for a college education and deeply imbued with the intense anti-slavery and union sentiment of Ohio, he followed the flag to the front when Lincoln called for volunteers. As soon as he was satisfied that liberty and the Republic could only be saved by fighting for them, his life belonged to his country. It is always difficult to rise from the ranks, and for a beardless boy well-nigh impossible. But in the eighteen months during which he carried a musket he was attracting the attention of the officers of his regiment—and such a regiment! Its Colonel, General Rosecrans, was promoted to the command of the Armies of the Tennessee and the Cumberland. Its

Lieutenant-Colonel, Stanley Matthews, became United States Senator and one of the Judges of that august tribunal, the Supreme Court. Its Major, Rutherford B. Hayes, was elected Governor of Ohio and President of the United States, and soon the successor of Hayes in the Majority of the gallant Twenty-third will also be the Chief Magistrate of this Republic. Our army was retreating down the Valley of Virginia; brigade after brigade of exhausted troops passed a battery of four guns which had been abandoned in the road. "The boys will haul them," said McKinley, and responding to his call and example his comrades did. He was in a safe place as Commissary Sergeant, two miles from the field at the Battle of Antietam. His business was to guard the rations until called for. Soldiers fight far better on full than empty stomachs, and so thought this fearless and practical Commissary Sergeant, and as evening fell two mule wagons loaded with food and hot coffee were going, under heavy fire from the enemy, straight for the boys at the front, and the driver of the first wagon, and the one which got through, was Sergeant McKinley. He was the staff officer selected to carry an order to a regiment in a perilous position to join the main column. It was believed that no one could ride across the enemy's front and reach his destination alive. The gallant Major never hesitated, but quietly and quickly obeyed orders and saved the regiment. These battle incidents, selected from many, indicate and reveal the

man, never fool-hardy nor boastful nor rash, but with intuitive genius grasping the situation and with serene confidence meeting wisely its requirements, regardless of consequences or perils to himself.

Governor McKinley was born and has passed his life in that manufacturing district of his native State which is a hive of varied industries. From early youth he has witnessed and felt the seasons of employment and idleness which come to the workers in mills and factories. He had participated with his play-fellows and companions in the joyous conditions which attend the humming spindles, the whirl of machinery, and the blaze of the furnaces, and his heart had been wrung by association with strong men suffering and seeking only work, and their sons no longer able to be at the district school. He pondered deeply over the questions suggested by such occurrences, and eagerly sought remedies for the fluctuations which involved capital and labor and the employers and employés in common ruin. With Washington and Hamilton, with Webster and Clay, he came, not alone, as they did, by the cold deductions of reason, but also by observation and experience, to the conclusion that the solution of our industrial problems and the salvation of our productive industries could only be had by the policy of a Protective Tariff. As Union and Liberty had been the inspiration of his courage and sacrifices as a soldier, so now America for Americans became the active principle of his efforts as a citizen. A century of

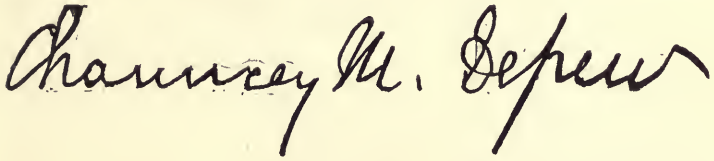
discussion had not enlivened tariff debates. They were the preserves of the "dry-as-dust" speaker and the dread of the orator. This question has been for a century the foremost one in platforms and legislation, but worn threadbare in debate. When Congressman McKinley appeared upon the floor of the House of Representatives to voice the aspirations of American labor for work and wages it was like Paul preaching to the Gentiles. The best brains of the country had been advocating the principle, but now brain and heart were united in the cause. Had McKinley done nothing else his popular discussions of tariff questions in Congress, on the stump, and before college commencements would have earned for him the recognition and gratitude of his countrymen. His audiences at once learn that they are not listening to a declaimer or a commentator upon academic theories, but they are roused to wild enthusiasm by the passion and earnestness, the convictions and pleadings of a sincere man, who both knows and feels the wisdom and necessity of the principles he advocates. No man could talk so ably, so often, and so entertainingly upon this well-worn theme unless he was broad-minded and versatile.

The fame of Governor McKinley as the most captivating orator on protection issues of this generation has obscured his merits as a speaker of eminence and power upon a wide range of topics. Whether the theme is patriotic or educational, religious or secular, a discriminating eulogy upon a departed

statesman or an address before farmers or journalists, we find in the speeches of Mr. McKinley the same thoughtful, courageous, sincere, and lucid thinker.

The sweetest and tenderest word in our language is home. The source and centre of all the saving and helpful influences which form American character and determine American action come from the family and fireside. No man could hope to represent our people who failed to embody in his life and in popular appreciation this ideal. Our hearts and sympathies are with lovers, young or old, who are pure and true. The Major is both a young and old lover, and always a lover. The young lady, educated, accomplished, and beautiful, seeking to do something useful in her father's bank, saw the handsome, frank young soldier—a lawyer now—pass day by day, and he in turn noticed this girl, so different from her companions in the earnest purposes of her life. Heaven blessed the union, and in the early, happy days two children came to brighten their home. First one and then the other was called, and their loss broke the mother's health. The cares of public life, the anxieties of political fortunes, and the triumphs of a brilliant career have never for one moment distracted or disturbed the tender solicitude and affectionate devotion of this best of husbands to the most self-sacrificing, helpful, and appreciative of wives. They are a beautiful example of wedded confidence, and their domestic life a splendid type of the American home.

Our people have always been fortunate in the candidates presented for their suffrages for that highest position on earth—the Presidency of the United States. They never have had a better example of the results of American liberty and opportunity than this brilliant and faithful soldier, this industrious and honest citizen, this wise and practical statesman, this sincere and loyal husband and friend—William McKinley.



MRS. WILLIAM McKINLEY.

Hon. WM. McKINLEY'S RESIDENCE.

CHAPTER I.

PERSONAL SKETCH OF HON. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, BY HON. JOHN SHERMAN.

BY request I write this sketch of the life and traits of Hon. William McKinley, nominee of the Republican party for the high office of President of the United States.

He was born at Niles, Ohio, January 29th, 1843, and is, therefore, just past fifty-three years of age. He is now in the prime of vigorous manhood, and his powers of endurance are not excelled by any American of his age. The best evidence of this is the many campaigns which he has made during his public life in behalf of the Republican party. He has proved his ability and endurance by the number and perfection of the speeches which he has delivered.

His education, for reasons that could not be surmounted, was limited to the public schools of Ohio, and to a brief academic course in Allegheny College. He taught school in the country and accumulated the small means necessary to defray the expenses of that sort of education. This is the kind of schooling that

has produced many of the most eminent Americans in public and private life.

McKinley entered the Union Army in June, 1861, enlisting in the Twenty-Third Ohio Infantry, when a little more than seventeen years of age. This was a noted regiment. Among its earlier field officers may be mentioned General W. S. Rosecrans, General Scammon, General Stanley Matthews, General Rutherford B. Hayes, General Comley, and many other conspicuous men. He served during the entire war, rising from the position of a private to the rank of major. He was a soldier on the front line, served in battles, marches, bivouacs and campaigns, and received the official commendation of his superior officers on very many occasions. He returned to Ohio with a record of which any young man might well be proud, and to which the old soldiers of the country point with enthusiasm now that he is honored by a presidential nomination. There are in the United States at this time more than a million soldiers of the late war who served on the Union side, still living and voting, and they have sons and their relatives, all of whom, taken in the aggregate, become a power in a presidential election. His military career, while he was not in high command, is full of heroic incidents, which are proven not only by contemporaneous publications in the newspapers, but by official reports of his superior officers. He was not only a gallant soldier, full of endurance and personal energy, but he was the calm, judicious staff

officer, who won the commendations of his superiors by the exhibition of good judgment and wise administrative capacity.

Returning from the war he found it necessary to choose his employment for life, and without further schooling he entered earnestly upon the study of law in the office of Judge Poland, and was a careful, faithful, industrious, and competent student. He entered the Albany Law School, and graduated from that institution with high honors. He then began the practice of law in Canton with the same enthusiasm and devotion to duty which he had always manifested. As a practitioner at the bar he at once exhibited superior qualities, careful, studious, and faithful. He was elected Prosecuting Attorney of his county, and distinguished himself by his learning, fidelity, and efficiency in the discharge of his duties to the public and his clients.

He was elected a member of the 45th Congress, and served in that Congress and the 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, and was certified as elected to the 50th, but was excluded by a Democratic majority in a contest, but was returned to the 51st, making his congressional career nearly fourteen years. As a member of Congress he was attentive, industrious, and untiring, working his way gradually until he reached the post of leader of the Republican majority of the 51st Congress. He did not attain this position by accident or by any fortuitous circumstance, but by constant attention to his duties and a careful study of

the public measures of importance. He was a candidate for Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 51st Congress. Mr. Reed, the successful candidate, appointed him as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and he entered upon the duties incident to that position with great energy and intelligence. There was a necessity and a well-defined public demand for tariff legislation in that Congress. The Republican party had come into power by the election of Mr. Harrison, with the understanding and pledge that tariff revision should be accomplished at once. The tariff laws of 1883 required amendment and improvement on account of the lapse of time and change of circumstances. In 1890 it was decided to present a complete revision of the tariff, and to this work McKinley devoted himself with untiring industry. He had upon that committee many competent assistants, but the chief burdens necessarily fell upon the chairman. Mr. Speaker Reed was in hearty sympathy and earnest co-operation, and the House of Representatives, on the 21st day of May, 1890, passed the bill known as the McKinley Tariff Bill. Any one turning to the great debate in the House of Representatives pending the passage of that measure in the Committee of the Whole will appreciate the great scope of McKinley's knowledge of the subject-matter of that enactment.

It has never been claimed by McKinley's friends that he was the sole author of the McKinley bill. Not only did he have able supporters and assistants,

but he yielded to them under all circumstances opportunities for demonstrating their leadership upon subjects connected with the bill, and over and over again expressed in public and in private his great admiration for the assistance contributed by his colleagues in the Committee. But it is fair to say that McKinley mastered the whole subject in Congress in detail. He has made the subject of protective tariff a life study. Born and reared within the sounds of the rolling mill, and beneath the smoke and flame of furnaces, and with the full knowledge of the calls of labor and the necessities of capital, he has grown up from childhood a student of the economic questions involved in American legislation, and so he brought to this task in the 51st Congress remarkable knowledge of details and thorough equipment for the great work devolved upon him. McKinley is a man of conspicuous modesty. He never claimed the exclusive authorship of this measure, but it must be admitted that he contributed more than any one else to the policy of combining in a tariff law ample provision for sufficient revenue to meet the expenditures of the Government, and at the same time to protect and foster impartially all domestic labor and production from undue competition with the poorly paid labor of foreign nations.

It is often asserted that the McKinley Act failed in providing sufficient revenue to support the Government. This is not true, as it did furnish revenue to meet expenditures, but it did not provide a surplus

equal to the sinking fund for the reduction of the public debt. This was not the fault of McKinley or of the House of Representatives, but of the Senate, which insisted upon reciprocity clauses which largely reduced the revenue provided by that Act.

It was the misfortune of the McKinley Act that it took effect at the opening of a Presidential contest, and when "Labor Troubles" excited the public mind. The election of 1892 fell with demoralizing and almost crushing weight upon the Republican party of the country. The law of 1890 was everywhere, by Republicans and Democrats, denominated the McKinley Law, and from ocean to ocean the common people learned to so denominate it. At that time Major McKinley not only did not seek to evade the responsibility of his position, but frankly and openly admitted it, and he counselled courage and fortitude, and gave assurance of his strong faith in the ultimate triumph of the Republican party upon the very principles which then seemed to be repudiated by the people.

Addressing himself to an audience of discouraged Republicans in February, 1893, he said:

"The Republican party values its principles no less in defeat than in victory. It holds to them after a reverse as before, because it believes in them, and, believing in them, is ready to battle for them. They are not espoused for mere policy, nor to serve in a single contest. They are set deep and strong

in the hearts of the party, and are interwoven with its struggle, its life, and its history. Without discouragement our great party reaffirms its allegiance to Republican doctrine, and with unshaken confidence seeks again the public judgment through public discussion. The defeat of 1892 has not made Republican principles less true nor our faith in their ultimate triumph less firm. The party accepts with true American spirit the popular verdict, and challenging the interpretation put upon it by political opponents, takes an appeal to the people, whose court is always open, whose right of review is never questioned.

"The Republican party, which made its first appearance in a national contest in 1856, has lost the Presidency but three times in thirty-six years, and only twice since 1860. It has carried seven Presidential elections out of ten since its organization. It has more than once witnessed an apparent condemnation of Republican policy swiftly and conclusively reversed by a subsequent and better considered popular verdict. When defeat has come it has usually followed some measure of public law or policy where sufficient time has not elapsed to demonstrate its wisdom and expediency, and where the opposing party, by reason thereof, enjoyed the widest range of popular prejudice and exaggerated statements and misrepresentation."

This was the language of a bold leader of public opinion. There was no trimming, no hiding from

responsibility, no shirking from the great question of protection.

After the passage of the Tariff Act of 1890 the country rang with the designation "McKinley Law" as a term of reproach. The man who had given his name to that Act when it was denounced, boldly proclaimed his responsibility for it. When the tide turned in its favor he heartily acknowledged the aid of his colleagues.

My familiar association as a Senator from Ohio with McKinley during his service in the House of Representatives enables me to say that he won friends from all parties by uniform courtesy and fairness, unyielding in sustaining the position of his party upon every question on the floor of the House. His leadership was, nevertheless, not offensive or aggressive, and while he carried his points, he was always courteous to his opponents, impersonal in debate, and always ready to concede honest motives to his opponents. At the close of the 51st Congress, and when his services as a Congressman ended, he retired without leaving behind him a single enemy, and yet he had been unswerving in party fealty and uncompromising upon every question of principle. His name became linked with the great measure of that Congress by the common voice of the people of the whole country, and by the world at large.

He, shortly after his service in Congress, entered upon the campaign for Governor of Ohio. He was

nominated by acclamation in 1891. The State had been carried in 1890 by the Republicans by a very close majority, and the drift in the country was against the success of the Republican party. The discussion by Major McKinley in Ohio of the tariff and currency questions was one of the most thorough and instructive of all the debates in that State. It was a counterpart, in large measure, of that of 1875, when, after a series of defeats throughout the country, growing out of the use of irredeemable paper money, President Hayes, then a candidate for Governor of Ohio, boldly advocated the resumption of specie payments, and was elected on that issue. It was a campaign where principles won against prejudices. So, in the campaign of 1891, Governor McKinley, disregarding threatened disasters, adhered without compromise to the platform of principles involved in the tariff legislation of Congress. He neither apologized nor modified his position, and his election by upwards of twenty thousand majority in that year was the significant result.

The office of Governor of Ohio was to McKinley a new field of action. It was the first executive office he had ever held. It was his first experience in administrative duty. His success in that department of the public service was as significant and conspicuous as his experience in the legislative department of the general government had been.

He was Governor during a period involving excitement and intense commotion in Ohio—the strikes

among the coal-miners, the organizing of bands of tramps, and the passage across the State of great bodies of turbulent people. All these things tended to precipitate commotion and disorder. His administration as a Governor was without reproach or just criticism. He was faithful to every duty, firm, unyielding, and defiant in the administration of the law. When necessary he called out the troops and crushed disorder with an iron hand, but before doing so he resorted to every proper expedient to maintain order and the law. He was diplomatic, careful, persuasive, and generally restored order and good government.

The great depression of 1894-5 brought a condition of suffering to many of the leading industries of the State. Charity was appealed to by the Governor and aid rendered promptly and efficiently. In January, 1896, he retired from the office of Governor at the end of his second term with the hearty goodwill of all the people of the State. He had yielded to no unworthy influence, made duty, honor, integrity, and fidelity the criterion of his administration, and he took his place in the ranks of the private citizens of the State in the town from which he had first entered Congress.

It has been said that Governor McKinley's knowledge is limited to a single subject, and that his speeches have been confined to the tariff question. This is a great mistake. His studies and speeches embraced a great variety of subjects and extended to

nearly every measure of importance discussed while he was in Congress, and his addresses to the people, a long list of which has been published, cover every variety of subjects appropriate to the time and place when they were delivered.

On the vital question of the currency he has held the position of the Republican party. When under the stress of war the United States was compelled to use irredeemable money, he acquiesced in conditions he could not change, but every step taken to advance the credit and value of United States notes while he has been in public life he has supported. He supported the Act for the resumption of specie payments and the successful accomplishment of that measure. I know of no act or vote or speech of his inconsistent with this position. He advocates the use of both gold and silver coins as money to the extent and upon the condition that they can be maintained at par with each other. This can only be done by purchasing as needed the cheaper metal at market value and coining it at the legal rate of 16 of silver to 1 of gold, and receiving it in payment of public dues. Gold is now the standard of value. With free coinage of silver that metal will be the standard of value and gold will be demonetized. Governor McKinley is opposed to the free coinage of silver, and has so repeatedly declared in his speeches. McKinley is in favor of honest money.

In his last Gubernatorial canvass in Ohio Governor McKinley made this response to the declaration

of his opponent, ex-Governor Campbell, that he was willing to "chance it" on silver:

"My worthy opponent should not 'chance' anything with a question of such vital and absorbing interest as the money of the people. The money of America must be equal to the best money of the world. Unlike my opponent, I will not ask you to take any chances on this question; I will clearly and unequivocally say to you that my choice and influence are in favor of the best money that the ingenuity of man has devised. The people are not prepared to indulge in the speculation of free and unlimited coinage.

"The Republican party stands now, as ever, for honest money, and a chance to earn it by honest toil. It stands for a currency of gold, silver, and paper that shall be as sound as the government and as untarnished as its honor. I would as soon think of lowering the flag of our country as to contemplate with patience, or without protest, any attempt to degrade or corrupt the medium of exchanges among our people. The Republican party can be relied upon in the future, as in the past, to supply our country with the best money ever known—gold, silver, and paper—good the world over."

It has been said that the recent Ohio platform does not declare against free coinage of silver and for honest money. This is not a fair construction of that declaration. The people of Ohio are for that money which has the highest purchasing power, that

which yields to labor the highest wages to be paid in the best money, and to domestic productions the highest price in the best money, and that is gold coin or its equivalent in other money of equal purchasing power. This, I believe, is also the opinion of Governor McKinley, and is the doctrine of the Republican party.

In his domestic life Governor McKinley is a model American citizen. It is not the purpose of the writer of this sketch to use fulsome language or to comment upon his private life, beyond the mere statement that he is, and has been, an affectionate son of honored parents, his mother still living, a devoted husband, and a true friend. In his family and social life, and in his personal habits, he commends himself to the friends of order, temperance, and good morals. In private he is exemplary, in public life a patriotic Republican. It may be said of him with great propriety that no man can more fully represent in his own career than he the great issues upon which the Republican party will contest the election of 1896.

CHAPTER II.

ANCESTRY — YOUTH — IN THE ARMY — STUDENT OF LAW — PROSECUTING ATTORNEY — HOME LIFE.

THE life of William McKinley is that of an American boy who made the best of his opportunities, continually striving for better, with no vain longings, but a continuous willingness to work that he might learn. It is such a story as should be included in every school-book, not only as a lesson and an inspiration to the young, but as a reminder of the possibilities of American citizenship to those called upon to help children in their studies. He was born at Niles, Ohio, January 29th, 1843, and is now in his fifty-fourth year; his hair is but lightly sprinkled with gray, and he is robust and alert. McKinley was descended from a long line of citizens who in times of peace were foremost in industry, and in the days of war always at the front. On his father's side his people were High-

land Scotch, brawny and brainy men, who needed only the opportunities and enlightenment of education. They were not of the royalist tribes of Scotland, but a sturdy set, with a determined though imperfectly developed idea of freedom. Liberty of conscience was real with them, and they left the Highlands for the north of Ireland, seeking independence, and thence to America for the greater liberty they found and helped to perpetuate.

James McKinley, a fine Scotch-Irish lad of twelve years, was the first to come to America. He was the father of David McKinley, the great-grandfather of the Republican candidate for the Presidency. William McKinley came to America with James, and settled in the South, where his descendants have been and are men of distinction. David McKinley was a revolutionary soldier, one of the sort not remembered in history, except under the grand classification of privates.

On his grandmother's side McKinley comes of equally good and sturdy stock, Mary Rose, who married James McKinley, the second, having come from Holland, where her ancestors had fled to escape religious tyranny in England. The first of the Rose family to emigrate to America was Andrew, who came with William Penn and was one of the representatives of the thirteen colonies before the rebellion against Great Britain. He owned the land on which Doylestown stands to-day. It was his son, Andrew Rose, who was the father of Mary Rose, the mother

of William McKinley, Sr. This Andrew Rose did more than double duty in the war for freedom against Great Britain. He fought and made weapons to fight with.

This is an ancestry typically American, one of soldiers and workers for the country's welfare and wealth, and McKinley's good fortune cast his lot in a happy home, where the true mother imbued the children with love of God and the country.

In the small town of Niles, in the county of Trumbull, Ohio's great son, whom the Republicans have just nominated for the Presidency, was born in an unpretentious frame building, a house that was partly dwelling and partly country store, the dwelling very neat and bright—a good home. There was no silver spoon in William McKinley's mouth, though his parents were comfortably situated. The Major was the seventh child, and after him there were born a girl and a boy.

If William McKinley is not a member of the "Sons of the American Revolution," he has a perfect right to become one, for he has Revolutionary ancestors on both sides. His great-grandfather, David McKinley, a Pennsylvanian, served in the Revolutionary War, enlisting at twenty-one, serving for one year and nine months. His great-grandfather on his grandmother's side was not only a soldier but he was a good mechanic, and molded bullets and made cannon balls for the men who were fighting for freedom. He was enlisted in the Revolution, and added

to his services the mechanical genius which he possessed. This union of the excellent qualities of a soldier and mechanic was of excellent service to the cause.

David McKinley's second son, James, married Mary Rose, daughter of Andrew Rose, Jr., the revolutionary soldier and founder. James McKinley raised a large family. Indeed, that seems to have been characteristic of the stock. His second son, William, born in Pennsylvania, was the father of the present Republican candidate for President. William McKinley, Sr., married Nancy Campbell Allison. The Allisons were good stock. They came from England to Virginia and multiplied, the branch from which Mrs. William McKinley, Sr., sprung emigrating to Pennsylvania. Major McKinley's grandfather, Abner Allison, married Ann Campbell, in Green County, Pennsylvania, in 1798. Ann Campbell was of Scotch-German origin. The family moved to New Lisbon, Ohio, where their ten children were born. It was at New Lisbon, in 1827, that William McKinley, Sr., married Nancy Campbell Allison. It may be interesting to state that, could the lines be fully followed out, it would be found that Major McKinley is a third or fourth cousin, possibly fifth or sixth, of William B. Allison, of Iowa, who was a candidate for the Presidency at St. Louis. The Allisons spread through the western country, some of them settling in the vicinity of Chillicothe. It was probably from the Pennsylvania

branch that William B. Allison sprung, for he was born in Ohio, in a portion of the State not far from New Lisbon.

It is noticeable that the McKinleys and the families into which they married were all industrious, hard-working people, religiously inclined, patriots and pioneers—a hardy race that baffled with difficulty and helped in carving a civilization out of a wilderness. The McKinley-Rose-Allison families were all Pennsylvanians originally, and a people with a trend toward the iron business. The Roses were iron founders, so was McKinley's father, while his mother's people were farmers. The combination of tillers of the soil and molders of the ore was a good one, and added much to the strength of character and the industrious application that is so characteristic of Major McKinley.

Mr. and Mrs. William McKinley, Sr., settled first at Fairfield, Ohio, another small town. There, in Columbiana County, which is now a part of the Eighteenth Ohio District, which his son represented for fourteen years in Congress, the father established an iron foundry, and for two decades he had interests in iron furnaces in New Wilmington, Ohio. It is interesting to observe that McKinley's ancestry makes it possible to trace his character. The lines of activity pursued by his forefathers were such as to leave their impress upon their offspring, and much as Major McKinley owes to his own energy and labor, the tendency to study, to activity, and to

continued effort was inherited. He had opportunities for application, and to his credit be it said he did not neglect them. He had openings and chances broader and better than his ancestors, and took advantage of them. It is seen from this short reference to his ancestry that Major McKinley was one of the people born in plain, respectable, and religious surroundings. He did not have the advantages nor the embarrassments of a great name, but proceeded by his own effort, by his own continuity of purpose, by study and energy, to make his name great.

William McKinley had a good mother. That she is now living, strong and well, with as active an intellect as ever at eighty-seven, is one of his great joys. Vigorous and energetic and strong as his father was, William McKinley, Jr., had the benefit of a mother's training, of her love and devotion, of her gentle guidance, of her religious instruction. Mrs. McKinley, as most mothers of large families, was enabled to do more for her children because they were numerous than had she but one or two. The danger of being spoiled was obviated, and the association with brothers and sisters naturally produced a thoughtfulness for others, a regard for different opinions, and at the same time helped develop an ability to care for himself, since in a family of many members, no matter how harmonious and loving it be, there is always a struggle for supremacy, particularly when there is an inheritance of aggressiveness.

William McKinley's mother is a Christian woman. She loved her country ways, and trained her son to patriotic views, and willingly offered him for sacrifice when she consented to his entering the army to help put down the rebellion when he was not yet eighteen years old. She has pride in his abilities and world-wide reputation, and is undoubtedly rejoiced that he has been named for the greatest and most exalted office in the world. But such a mother as McKinley has would count this honor as nothing, would be unhappy, if it had been secured unworthily. Truly Mrs. McKinley's greatest happiness lies in the fact that her son is an honorable man and respected even by his enemies, because his life has been free from stain. That good old mother lives in Canton now, happy in her son's preferment, and sad only because her good husband was taken away three years ago, before he could see his son the Presidential candidate of his party.

The family moved to Poland from Niles when William McKinley was still young. The mother desired her children to have educational advantages, and there was in Poland, Ohio, an academy which in those days had a wide reputation for the abilities of its teachers. There Major McKinley's sister, Annie, became a teacher and William a scholar. The young boy made friends always by his quiet dignity and serious habits—a student always, but withal a manly fellow, who could play as hard as he studied. The McKinley family was held in high esteem in Po-

McKINLEY AT EIGHTEEN.

WILLIAM McKINLEY WHEN ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

land, and to this day it is remembered with affection and pleasure. The testimony of old friends, the stories of childhood, are always true indications of the character of a young man, and of McKinley there is nothing in criticism said. Everybody liked him as a boy, and, of course, bright and thorough in his work as he was, there were prophecies that he would make a great man. That often happens with likeable children, but, alas! it too seldom is verified by the future.

The town of Poland was an agricultural and mining village, only eight miles from Youngstown, and consequently near the Pennsylvania State line, a city in the now prosperous and fertile Mahoning Valley, which is as famous in Ohio as the Connecticut Valley is in New England. Poland never grew much. It was too near Youngstown, but the citizens of the town are proud that small as it is, the draft was never enforced there, for the men volunteered from patriotic motives. In fact there were always more volunteers than Poland's quota justified.

A boy, while studying in the public schools, the educational advantages he gained made him one of their best friends and advocates. To him the magnificent school system of Ohio is a matter of pride In the days of McKinley's youth men and boys often did chores to help the family along, and that was what McKinley himself did. McKinley was a clerk in the Poland post-office when he entered the war. He was studying and working at the same

time. One had a feeling of pride in the advancement of a young man who struggled for his education. So many have been educated without having to work to pay for it, and have not properly regarded the educational advantages, that there is a tingle of satisfaction in seeing a man succeed who earned his education literally by the sweat of his brow.

In June, 1861, two months after the surrender of Fort Sumter, when McKinley was a youth not yet eighteen, there was a meeting at the tavern in Poland. In a small town the hotel is a meeting place, just as a store is in a village. Here the citizens had assembled, thirty-five years ago, to discuss the secession of States. A speaker in a fiery talk asked who would be first to defend the flag. The boys of Poland came forward, one by one, and among them was our next President, a slight, pale-faced young man, of studious mien. Two years before he had joined the Methodist church, and was a member of the Bible-class, who was constantly seeking information. Before the war, at seventeen, he had gone to Allegheny College, but an illness called him home. He did not return, but took to teaching school—a youth instructing scholars at a country school, some of them as old as he.

McKinley at that meeting enlisted in Company E of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers, a regiment that produced such men as Stanley Matthews, afterward Senator and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; President Hayes, and of which W. S. Rose-

crans was first colonel. He served fourteen months as a private. Speaking of McKinley's connection with the regiment, General Hayes said: "At once it was found that he had unusual character for the mere business of war. There is a quartermaster's department, which is a very necessary and important department in every regiment, in every brigade, in every division, in every army. Young as he was, we soon found that in business, in executive ability, young McKinley was a man of rare capacity, of unusual and unsurpassed capacity, especially for a boy of his age. When battles were fought or service was to be performed in warlike things, he always took his place. The night was never too dark; the weather was never too cold; there was no sleet or storm, or hail or snow, or rain that was in the way of his prompt and efficient performance of every duty."

That is a great tribute from a great man. McKinley soon went on General Hayes's staff, when the then major became commander of the regiment, and he served in that capacity for two years, and served so well that Hayes knew "him like a book and loved him like a brother." That friendship continued, and the writer remembers at the funeral of the ex-President, in 1892, Governor McKinley, who was there with his staff, cried like a child when he looked at the body of his old commander and personal friend.

At the battle of Antietam on September 17th, 1862,

probably the bloodiest day of the war, McKinley was commissary sergeant in the Twenty-third Ohio. General Hayes says of his services then: "That battle began at daylight. Before daylight men were in the ranks and preparing for it. Without breakfast, without coffee, they went into the fight, and it continued until after the sun had set. Early in the afternoon, naturally enough, with the exertion required of the men, they were famished and thirsty, and to some extent broken in spirit. The commissary department of that brigade was under Sergeant McKinley's administration and personal supervision. From his hands every man in the regiment was served with hot coffee and warm meats—a thing that had never occurred under similar circumstances in any other army in the world. He passed under fire and delivered with his own hands these things so essential to the men for whom he was laboring. Coming to Ohio and recovering from wounds, I called upon Governor Todd and told him this incident. With the emphasis that distinguished that great war governor, he said: 'Let McKinley be promoted from sergeant to lieutenant.' And that I might not forget, he requested me to put it upon the roster of the regiment, which I did, and McKinley was promoted."

Speaking of his war service, Major McKinley said, just before he retired from the governorship of Ohio: "I always look back with pleasure upon those fourteen months in which I served in the

ranks. They taught me a great deal. I was but a school-boy when I went into the army, and that first year was a formative period in my life, during which I learned much of men and of affairs. I have always been glad that I entered the service as a private and served those months in that capacity."

At the battle of Kernstown McKinley was on General Hayes's staff. Crook's corps had been expecting an easy time when it appeared that the enemy was in force at Kernstown, about four miles from Winchester, where Crook's troops were. There had been some misinformation regarding the Confederate general Early's movements, and the force about to be met was that of Early, which outnumbered Crook's corps three to one. When the battle began one of the regiments was not in position, and Lieutenant McKinley was ordered to bring it in. The road to the regiment needed was through open fields and right in the enemy's line of fire. Shells were bursting on his right and left, but the boy soldier rode on. He reached the regiment, gave the orders to them, and at his suggestion the regiment fired on the enemy and slowly withdrew to take the position where they were assigned. It was a gallant act of the boy soldier, and General Hayes had not expected him to come back alive.

At the battle of Opequan he was on General Hayes's staff still. There he distinguished himself for gallantry, for good judgment, and military skill. He had been ordered to bring General Duval's troops to join

the first division, which was getting into battle. There was a question as to the route to take. The young officer knew it intuitively, and, acting on his own responsibility, directed Duval the way to go, and brought the troops up in good style, taking great chances in doing so, but succeeding nevertheless. Other equally courageous and dangerous things the Ohio officer undertook. He served with General Crook as a staff officer later on, and was finally assigned to duty with General Hancock. He entered the war a private, one of the several hundred thousand, a boy of seventeen, and left it a major in the United States Volunteers by brevet, and he earned every promotion by his own skill. Think of it, a major at twenty-one! Major McKinley still has his brevet commission. It was given him in 1864, and reads: "For gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Opequan, Cedar Creek, and Fisher's Hill." Who signed that? "A. Lincoln." It is a testimonial of bravery, of patriotism, and of manliness, and Major McKinley is proud of it. Who blames him? There are other records more brilliant; others, but none displayed more courage, and few had equal responsibilities at his age. His horse was shot from under him at Berryville. He can appreciate the hardships of the private soldier's life, for he endured them himself. He knows the worries of the officer, for these also he experienced. He understands the duties of a staff officer, for he was one. There is everything in his record that is creditable, and noth-

ing that is discreditable. He was a typical American citizen soldier.

After the surrender at Appomattox, and after he was mustered out, Major McKinley was offered a commission in the regular army. It was a temptation hard to resist, for four years in the army, at the formative period of his life, gave him a love for military service that was hard to overcome. What might have been his career had he remained in the army no one can tell. There is little chance for advancement there, but he would probably have ultimately commanded a regiment, and with the prejudice against officers appointed from civilian life he might never have risen higher and perhaps might not have attained that rank.

Acting on the advice of his father, he entered civil life. He studied law in Mahoning County, under Judge Glidden, who was one of the noted men at the Stark County bar. Under him McKinley studied for a year and a half, and his family made sacrifices to enable him to do so. Their unselfishness enabled him to go to the Albany Law School, which has developed many men of brain and ability. In 1867, twenty-nine years ago, he was admitted to the bar and chose Canton, then a small town of about 6,000 people, for his home. Canton was not important then, though the county of Stark was destined to develop and prosper under the policy of protection which he advocated. Great manufactories were to develop there, and the Mahoning Valley was

to be smoke laden by the industry and the sky above it to be lightened by the blazing chimneys of furnaces.

Major McKinley had been a good debater at school. He was often the winner in such contests. After he got back from the war he entered a political debate, and was overcome by his opponent. Naturally a sensitive man, he was chagrined, and resolved that never again would there be the opportunity given for a similar defeat. The subject of the debate was protection, and McKinley knew his view was right. Though worsted in the argument, he had no question as to the logic of his reasoning; but he needed more facts, greater study to support them, and he immediately applied himself to acquiring them.

Though a newcomer, he had gained a reputation for legal ability in Stark County, which was Democratic. It appeared as if it would be a herculean task to carry it. McKinley had a natural aptitude for politics, and his life as an attorney tended to increase it. The Republicans wanted a candidate for Prosecuting Attorney. Some say McKinley was chosen simply because of his ability, and others that while his capacity was recognized, the Republicans did not think the place worth fighting for when defeat seemed certain, and gave it to McKinley, a new man, as a mark of recognition. Now Major McKinley never in his life entered a fight to lose it. He never confessed himself beaten. The stern de-

HON. WM. McKINLEY IN HIS STUDY.

FIRST M. E. CHURCH AT CANTON,
Where Hon. Wm. McKinley Attends.

termination of his ancestors came to him in good stead, and he went into the campaign to win. He was elected Prosecuting Attorney, much to the surprise of the Democrats. There he displayed his customary ability, and was renominated, only to be defeated, but the opponent who overcame him won by forty-five votes only.

The campaigns for Prosecuting Attorney marked the beginning of McKinley's political career. While practicing law he took an active part in politics, but did not run for office until 1876. He stumped the district and often now speaks with pleasure of his experiences as a young stump speaker. The writer has driven through much of Stark County and Columbiana and Mahoning Counties, which form part of the eighteenth district, and remembers the pride and pleasure which the Major would derive from discussing the old speech-making days, and tell us that he had spoken here and there, and give some incident of that life. Old inhabitants of the district tell of the great demand there was for the young speaker, of his eloquence and control of the subject he handled. They say he spoke as well as a young man as he does now, but that cannot be, for practice has perfected his delivery and enabled him to develop into a great orator.

After his first term as Prosecuting Attorney, during the five years that passed before he ran for Congress, Major McKinley secured a large law practice. He prepared every case thoroughly, knew every de-

tail, sifted the evidence, examined witnesses to the most minute detail; in fact, when he went into a trial, he knew all there was to be known of the case he had in hand. It was characteristic of him to study his subject. No one ever found him unprepared. He was persuasive as an advocate, for he was eloquent. This natural ability, combined with his thorough understanding of the matter in hand, gave him many victories and made his reputation as a lawyer. The experiences at the bar in Stark County were further preparations for his leadership of the House. It was educational for him.

In 1871 he was married to Miss Ida Saxton, whose father was a man of considerable literary ability, and the editor of the Canton *Repository*, which to this day is an able paper. He was a banker as well. She was thoroughly educated, given a trip abroad, which in the days following the war was an unusual advantage for a young woman, particularly when she came from a State six hundred miles from the sea. After that trip she entered her father's banking house as cashier. She left that to marry William McKinley, Jr. Her father did not like the idea of her marrying, but he said that Major McKinley was the only man he was willing that she should marry. Two girls blessed this union. One died when still a baby, and the other after it had reached four years and had become the joy of the house. Mrs. McKinley had been worn by the death of her father, and this additional affliction aided in breaking her health.

She had been a strong young woman, but the cares of motherhood had brought on an illness from which she has never recovered. However, she is stronger since the Major left Congress, and though unable to attend to any great amount of social duties, has many friends, and all who know her admire her for her patience and good spirits, her gentleness and devotion, and admiration for her husband.

She likes to see her friends and loves children, who know they are always welcome at her house. Mrs. McKinley is an adept with the needle, and she knits well, too. Many clothes and warm mitts and jackets she has made for friends and for the poor. They are prized greatly by all who get them. Mrs. McKinley travels a deal to be with her husband, and has often heard him speak, as on four or five occasions during the gubernatorial campaign of 1893. In that prolonged contest, when the Governor spoke more than three hundred times in eighty out of the eighty-eight counties of the State, he was never too weary after the last meeting on Saturday to take a train for Columbus, or Cincinnati, or Cleveland, or Chicago, where Mrs. McKinley happened to be, that he might spend Sunday with her. It was a beautiful devotion, and not at all surprising when the Major's tender care and solicitude for his wife is remembered.

Though an invalid, Mrs. McKinley has been cheerful and in trying times brave, never faltering in her belief in her husband and ever ready to cheer him.

Ill-health is trying and a test of disposition, but Mrs. McKinley has never complained, and has always been resigned. The death of her children, Kate and Ida (the latter was born on Christmas, 1871), was a cruel blow, but both the Major and his wife have borne their sorrow patiently and with Christian spirit. They have sought the happiness that their children would have given in closer union and in the enjoyment of the little ones of others.

CHAPTER III.

McKinley in Congress—The rapid growth of his National Reputation—Became the Champion of Protection—First in a National Convention.

In the five years that followed his retirement from the prosecuting attorneyship of Stark County, Ohio, Major McKinley had grown in popularity and in the estimation of his neighbors. In the centennial year he was brought forward as a candidate for the Republican congressional nomination. L. D. Woodsworth, of Mahoning, was the representative, and there were other candidates, including three from Stark County. That county then elected its delegates to the congressional convention by primaries in every township. To the surprise of his opponents William McKinley, who knew, and was known, in every hamlet and town and village and community in the county, carried all the townships but one, and that was so small that it had but one delegate. The Major had been through all the other counties of the old eighteenth district, and in one of them he was born. It was not a difficult matter to secure a majority in these counties, and as a result he was nominated with a cheer on the first ballot.

It is not surprising that the old political war-horses

of the district were amazed at this rise of a young man, only thirty-three. McKinley had triumphed, and never afterward was it possible to contest his right to represent that district. He dominated it. The Republican party was proud of him, and though it was not customary in that district, and in fact it is not the habit in any Ohio district, except the one which General Garfield and E. B. Taylor represented for so many years, to name a man for more than two terms. It is this habit that makes Ohio less of a power in the national house than she would otherwise be. A Congressman, as soon as he has learned the ways of Congress and has been there long enough to do good work for his district, is superseded by some ambitious man, unprepared to do as well as his predecessor; but the anxiety to become a statesman is so general in Ohio, and there is so much good timber there, that it is not surprising that this should be the case.

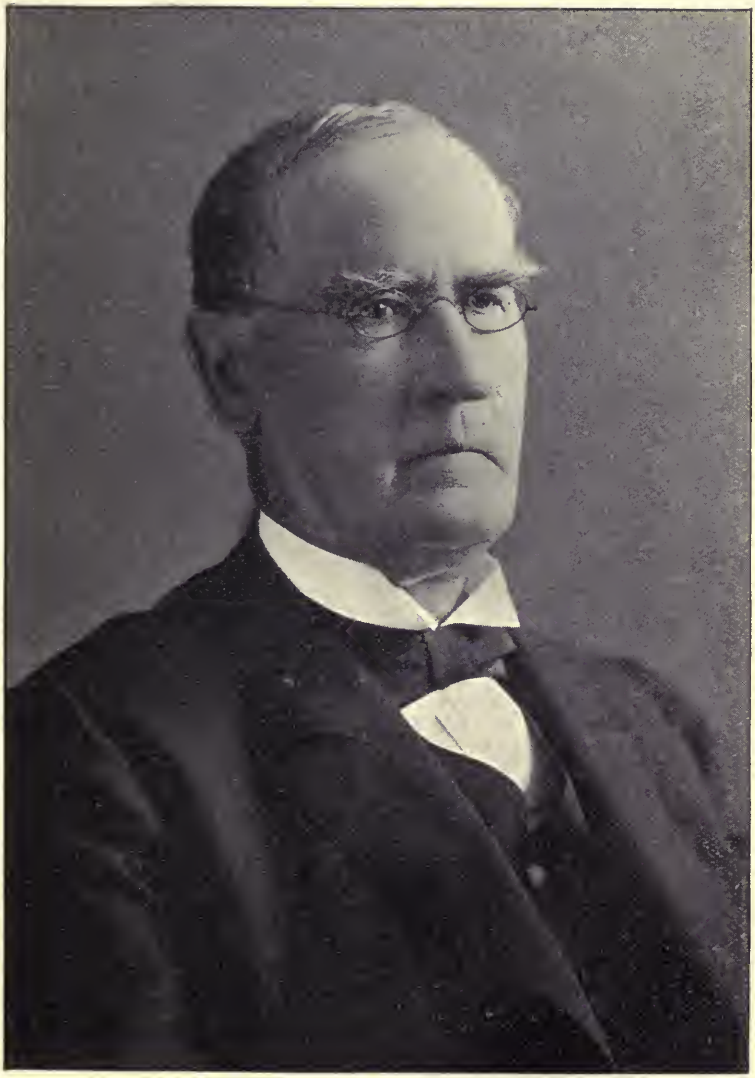
Major McKinley represented the eighteenth district for fifteen years. The Democrats gerrymandered him three times. He had been in the House but two years, one term, when his county was placed in a district that had a Democratic majority of 1,800. Major McKinley stumped the district from one end to the other, and carried it by 1,300 plurality—truly a great victory. In 1880 he was again elected. Thus by the time he was thirty-nine he had represented his district in Congress three times. In 1882 the district was again gerrymandered. He had a

majority on the face of the returns of eight votes. His opponent was named Wallace. Toward the end of the session of that Congress he was unseated by a Democratic House and Wallace given his place. That year, 1882, was not a very bright one for the Republicans. It will be recalled that then it was that Secretary Folger was defeated for Governor of New York by Grover Cleveland, of Buffalo, by a majority of 192,000 votes. This was the beginning of the rise of the man whom McKinley will succeed in the Presidential chair. How remarkable it seems, looking backward, that the ex-sheriff of Buffalo and the ex-mayor of the city of Buffalo should have been chosen Governor over such a tried and true Republican as Folger. However, Mr. Cleveland is now even more unpopular than the Republican party was when he was elected Governor. Secretary Folger told McKinley in 1882 that he had won a great victory to be returned to Congress at that time.

Unseated toward the end of the Forty-eighth Congress, McKinley was re-elected to the Forty-ninth, in 1884, by a great majority, and remained in Congress, being a member of the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-first congresses, being defeated by a wicked gerrymander for the Fifty-second. Slowly but surely he has grown in influence. He had been modest in his first years of congressional life. A young man, full of enthusiasm and study and inheriting an interest in the industries of the country,

a natural researcher, he was from the beginning a protectionist. The district he represented was a manufacturing one. He studied its needs, saw where protection was a benefit, and proposed to stand by that cause. That he has done so is known to everybody. He has been nominated for the Presidency because he is a protectionist. He had the insight to see what policy was most important to his country, and, convinced that his view was the proper one, he prepared himself to support it. That he has done so ably even his enemies admit. He knows the industries of the country thoroughly, is informed of business conditions in every section—a student of economics, a patient digger for information, a persistent questioner regarding conditions everywhere. This is apparent from his wonderful tariff speeches. The tariff is a dull subject at best, but McKinley makes the figures and statistics which encumber it, and ordinarily weary, interesting. His hearers feel that they are a part of himself and accordingly are attracted. There is almost a poetic tinge in his eloquent tariff speeches. They are, many of them, as good English as is written. Then their facts are unassailable.

It was in his second term in Congress that William McKinley made a reputation as a tariff debater. He had probably addressed the House on other subjects, but then he had its attention, and it was appreciated by Judge Kelley, the leader on the Republican side, that a new force had entered Con-



HON. WM. McKINLEY'S FATHER.

Hon. WM. McKINLEY'S MOTHER.

gress, an able exponent of protection was on the floor. He was not a member of the Ways and Means Committee then, for General Garfield represented Ohio on that committee at that time. Few remember the Wood tariff bill of 1878—a bill intended to scale down revenue. McKinley saw that it was a blow to the protective system, that it was a step toward free trade, which he has been fighting ever since. He secured recognition in April of 1878, and addressed the House at length. His speech is very interesting reading now, and surprises even those who are informed of his ability, know his power and grasp of every subject, that he should then, so young and comparatively inexperienced in congressional work, have delivered such an admirable plea for protection, such an appeal to the House not to strike down the industries of his district—of the country. Every argument he made then is good now against free trade. It was really a wonderful speech, and it made the young congressman from the old eighteenth district a figure in the House. Ever after that when he spoke he received attention. His voice was capable of filling the hall, whose acoustic properties are so poor. He painted the theory of free trade as a dream, a menace, and was roundly applauded when he had finished. That speech made him a reputation that was national. It marked him as the successor of James A. Garfield on the Ways and Means Committee, for Garfield was then a candidate for the Senate, to which, it

will be remembered, he was elected before the Convention of 1880 made him a Presidential candidate.

McKinley's Washington life was not a very social one. A man of his industry and studious habits had little time for the frivolities of society. Then his wife's health would not permit him to enter therein. He enjoyed the friendship of President Hayes, who had been his war commander. Mrs. Hayes took an interest in his invalid wife and they were most intimate. Such a woman as Mrs. Hayes, a motherly, lovable, conscientious Christian woman, could not but have been interested in the little Ohio woman, whose husband promised to become such a man of force, and the friendship there made never ended until death claimed the beloved "Lucy" Hayes. But the McKinleys had friends. They were not social leaders probably, though then a congressman was, if he chose, a factor in Washington society. The wish of the plutocrats had not outstripped the congressional circle, and wealth was not one of the requirements for a successful Washington career, socially. Every one who had the pleasure of knowing the McKinleys appreciated their refinement and attractiveness. They were sought out by many, but preferred a life of comparative seclusion, brightened by the intimate friends who clung around them.

When General Garfield retired from Congress, to assume the ill-fated Presidency, Major McKinley was his successor on the Ways and Means Committee.

Older members of that brainy set of men were glad to have him one of them, and Judge Kelley, the leading Republican, the great exponent of protection, who earned for himself the title of "pig-iron" Kelley, welcomed the Ohio man. It was recognized that McKinley had a thorough and complete understanding of the subject under discussion and the tariff men were rejoiced to have their forces so strengthened.

There can be no doubt that Major McKinley advocated protection because he was convinced it was necessary for the prosperity of the country. It was to him a public duty to support it. He had mastered all its details, knew the theory, and was always able to show that the free-trade ideas meant destruction if put in force. The experience of the country under the present tariff reform measure, which Mr. Cleveland himself said was tinged with party perfidy and party dishonor, show conclusively that he was right. The people believe he is, and for that reason they demanded his nomination. Nothing could stop it. The wave of popular approval would not be hindered. It swept on and overwhelmed all opposition.

In 1882, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, he urged that the Tariff Commission be appointed, and made an able speech in its support. The results of that Commission are known. McKinley was one of those who helped frame the tariff bill of 1883, which was in force for seven years, and was

an admirable act. It was partially his work, and in the debates on that measure he attained additional reputation. He opposed reduced taxation, and showed clearly that the farmers did not want it. Who now will tell a farmer that a tariff hurts him? Who will urge any agriculturist to support tariff reform when he has seen the injuries to agriculture, the reduction in the price of farm commodities such as potatoes, by reason of lessened duties thereon? McKinley knew what was best for the farmers then, and they now support him earnestly. After his connection with the Tariff Act of 1883 Major McKinley was admitted as the leading tariff advocate, its best exponent. Older men retired in his favor. He had won his promotion by merit, by work, and he deserved it. It was hard, earnest effort that advanced him. Naturally bright and intellectual, he improved his opportunities, and succeeded where men who might be more brilliant, but less studious and solid, failed.

The Act of 1883 was largely McKinley's. He and Judge Kelley had worked on it together, and each sought to give the other credit for it. The Morrison horizontal reduction bill came up the next year, and here McKinley fought free trade, the menace of reduced duties, with energy. He battled in vain, because the Democracy was in the majority in the House, but his speeches, his arguments, his figures, his logic, added to his great reputation. In this fight Judge Kelley and Major McKinley were

again intimately associated. They labored together for protection, for the preservation of our industries, and staved off the era of free trade—the experiment with a lower tariff that seemed inevitable. The Morrison bill proposed to reduce the duties in the Act of March 3d, 1883, by twenty per cent. This was the bill at which the Democrats had laughed because a Tariff Commission had aided in framing it. It was a singular anomaly that the Democrats should have brought in this measure, the one they had assaulted so vigorously, in exactly the same shape as it had been enacted, with the exception of the horizontal reduction of duties.

The Morrison bill never became a law, thanks to a Republican Senate, but it gave Major McKinley an opportunity to display his wonderful command of the tariff subject, to patriotically oppose the destruction of industrial America. It is a striking contrast —the fates of Morrison and McKinley. Morrison was defeated for Congress after that measure had passed the House, and became the chairman of the Commission on Interstate Commerce. McKinley was defeated for Congress after the passage of his tariff bill, and became Governor of Ohio. Morrison has been a Presidential aspirant ever since, and no one has recognized him except a few personal friends, and in his own brain alone has the Presidential bee developed. McKinley never permitted a bee to buzz until the people demanded that he should run. Twice he declined the nomination, or rather refused

to permit his name to be used when a nomination was possible.

Up to 1884 Major McKinley had been known chiefly for his connection with Congress. He had by that time a national reputation, and was appreciated as a rising man. He had not, however, entered into the domain of national politics, nor taken any considerable part in Ohio affairs. He had simply represented his district in Congress, but Ohio was beginning to claim him as one of her great men. In 1884 he was made permanent chairman of the Republican State Convention at Cleveland. He displayed satisfactory parliamentary abilities there. He was for Blaine for President, representing the sentiments of his constituents. Sherman was a candidate, but Ohio, as usual, was divided, and was frittering away her strength. The Blaine men exceeded in their enthusiasm, but the Sherman men seemed to be better organized. They were managed by competent politicians, such as have always surrounded John Sherman in his native State. At that convention McKinley made a speech which was as admirable as are all his deliveries. It is perhaps worth reproducing in part. He, in purely extemporaneous form, drew a comparison between Republicanism and Democracy, that is as true to-day as it was twelve years ago.

"The difference," said he, "between the Republican and Democratic parties is this—the Republican party never made a promise which it has not kept, and the Democratic party never made a promise

which it has kept. Not in its whole history, commencing from 1856 down to the present hour, is there a single promise made by the Republican party to the people that it has not faithfully kept. And then it is not a laggard party. If there is any one thing the people like, it is courage. They neither like laggards nor do they like shams; and the Democratic party is the embodiment of both." How true are those words to-day, how aptly they describe the Democracy.

It was at this convention that Major McKinley showed stern determination to be true to a friend. With Blaine men and Sherman men fighting for the supremacy there, the contest was necessarily for the delegates-at-large. McKinley had promised friends who desired to go as delegates that he would not be a candidate. When Judge King of Mahoning named McKinley, the Major, from the platform, withdrew his own name. There was a sentiment for McKinley which would not be stilled. King of Muskingum put a motion to elect McKinley a delegate, but McKinley, as chairman, declared the motion out of order. General Grosvenor, since famous for his accurate figures of the progress of the McKinley boom for the Presidency, put the motion again and held it was carried. Again did McKinley rule it out of order. His decision was appealed from. He was not sustained, and General Grosvenor put the motion still again to elect McKinley delegate-at-large, and it was done. McKinley

would not have it, and again he was overruled, in spite of his appeals. Finally there was a roll-call and, McKinley insisting that his name be not voted for, was elected. In that Chicago convention McKinley made a name. He assumed the duties of leader of the Blaine men at one time and prevented an adjournment that was hostile to Blaine and Blaine was nominated. He wrote the platform that year, as chairman of the committee on resolutions. This was his first leadership in national politics. He had made himself famous in that convention.

Hon. WM. McKINLEY'S MOTHER'S RESIDENCE.

RESIDENCE OF THE LATE J. A. SAXTON, MRS. McKINLEY'S FATHER.

CHAPTER IV.

First experience as a candidate for the Presidency—Trying times and personal triumph in Chicago—Prosperity under the McKinley Law—Gerrymandered out of Congress—Governor of Ohio.

In 1888 Ohio went to Chicago solid for John Sherman. Difficulties had been patched up and Ohio for the first time in years was united. Two Ohio men were particularly prominent in their efforts for Sherman. These were Foraker and McKinley. Each was considered at different times during the convention as a Presidential possibility. McKinley was more prominent in that connection and he there declined to be presented as a candidate. It will be recalled that there were a number of Presidential candidates, including Sherman, Harrison, Gresham, Depew, Allison, and Alger. The contest was rather prolonged. There was a strong sentiment for Blaine, but he prevented any action on his name by a cablegram from Scotland. During the fight Ohio stood solidly for Sherman. Foraker was chairman of the delegation. McKinley was recognized as a force, and was roundly cheered whenever he came into the hall.

As the contest went on it seemed as if a solution would be difficult. The convention was becoming weary of balloting. There was an admirable chance for a dark horse. When it came to the sixth ballot some one voted for the Major. The convention cheered. Then he was given seventeen votes by a State following. It looked as if McKinley would be the man. It seemed impossible to prevent it. It was recognized that he was able and brilliant, safe and sound on all political subjects. His labor for Sherman, his pleas for the Ohio Senator as he went from delegation to delegation, had won him support for himself.

It was a most trying time for the Ohio protectionist. He was then but forty-five years old, and seemed younger, as with pallid face he stepped on a chair. His frock coat was buttoned tightly around him. His eyes flashed forth the fire that is so characteristic of them, when he is in earnest. There was a stern look in his face. The convention was silent. The buzz had ceased. Delegates and spectators leaned forward to catch what he was about to say. There was a feeling that he was about to relinquish the Presidential prize, that he was to sacrifice ambition to gain renown by faithfulness to a trust. As he spoke his voice rang through the great auditorium. There was a defiant tone to it. It was commanding. It was irresistible. He said:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my

State. I am here by resolution of the Republican State Convention, commanding me to cast my vote for John Sherman for President, and to use every worthy endeavor to secure his nomination. I accepted the trust, because my heart and judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me for President. I am not insensible to the honor they would do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me I cannot remain silent with honor. I cannot consistently with the wish of the State whose credentials I bear, and which has trusted me; I cannot consistently with my own views of personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find it in my heart to do or to permit to be done that which could even be ground for any one to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio, or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do not request—I demand that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me."

That settled it. McKinley had won. He received no more votes and Harrison was named on the seventh ballot. An eye-witness remembers going into the Ohio headquarters before this incident had occurred. There was talk of McKinley for President that night. The Major was in an inner room. He looked tired. There were lines of care on his

face. It was on the Sunday prior to the final adjournment. Everywhere outside there was excitement. Bands were playing and clubs marching. McKinley was outwardly calm. It was apparent that he was bothered though. He talked for ten or fifteen minutes, when it was suggested that he might be nominated, and said: "No, that will not happen here. I came here for John Sherman, I shall stand by him until he is nominated or defeated, but I shall not be named." It was on that night that he visited the New Jersey delegation. He had heard that the New Jersey delegation proposed to vote for him. He intended to prevent it, and made a stirring appeal to the chairman of that delegation. The Major spoke with suppressed feeling until he said in finishing: "Rather than that I would suffer the loss of that good right arm. Yes, I would suffer death. To accept a nomination, if one were possible, under these circumstances, would inevitably lead to my defeat, and it ought to lead to my defeat." The last words sounded like a clarion. Then the Major asked the New Jersey delegation to vote for Sherman.

THE McKINLEY BILL.

Major McKinley took an especially prominent part in opposing the Mills bill when it was considered during the Fiftieth Congress. This was an ultra free-trade bill. There was no horizontal reduction about it. It was plain free trade. Mills

came from Texas, a State without industries. He cared little for the industrial communities. He was a theorist, and a more rabid free-trader than Professor Wilson. The fight in the House lasted for a long time. Carlisle was Speaker, and naturally friendly to the bill. Randall was opposing it. McKinley was, too. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, he showed up its fallacies, its menace to the country. He could not defeat it, because the Democrats were in the majority, but, nevertheless, he made many telling points. It was a great fight. Randall was his friend. They had been drawn together by a community of interests, for each was a protectionist. One was trying to prevent his party from taking the wrong road, while the other was leading his in the right direction.

McKinley, during that fight, displayed better than ever his wonderful ability as a debater, and many is the Democrat whom he disturbed by his arguments for protection. Mr. Randall was closing the general debate on the bill the last day before the debate under the five-minute rule. Major McKinley was to follow him. Randall had not finished his speech when his time was up. His friends asked for an extension of time, but Colonel Mills objected. He feared the piercing arguments of his colleague. Here it was that McKinley showed his characteristic courtesy. He arose and yielded his time to the able Democratic protectionist.

The November elections of 1888 had given the

Republicans a majority in the House. The free-trade folly of the Democracy had beaten it. Mr. Reed and Major McKinley were among the candidates for Speaker. After a hot fight Mr. Reed won, and appointed Major McKinley as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, thus making him leader of the House. Judge Kelley had died, and it was but natural that McKinley, the great protectionist, should have been made chairman of that important committee. During the twelve years of his congressional life he had been preparing for the opportunity. He had mastered the tariff, and was ready for the work before him. The Act of 1883 was producing too much revenue. The changes of conditions since its passage had made it necessary to revise it. It was to be revised by hands friendly to protection. Major McKinley was the man to direct the work. The object was to reduce revenue and to equalize duties where necessary, to adjust them to the prevailing conditions, to afford protection to American industries and farmers.

For this work Major McKinley gave his time. He labored early and late. The committee gave hearings and worked incessantly. Major McKinley did not permit his daily work at the capitol to end that on the tariff. He was busy until midnight and later in his office at the Ebbitt House, studying the question more thoroughly, listening to arguments in favor of certain duties, laying out the plans of the tariff. It was a herculean task. He never swerved. His good

health and regular habits gave him the strength to perform the almost impossible work. Under his direction no interest was permitted to be injured. No duties were fixed without every condition that surrounded them had been considered. The work was thorough. It was honest. The result of this continuous application by Major McKinley and the other members of the committee was that the bill, when finished, was the best, the most complete bill ever produced.

The committee was even more thorough in its work than the tariff commission had been. Possibly it may be well to explain that Mr. Cleveland had, prior to the election of the Fifty-first Congress, transmitted a free-trade tariff measure to the House. The issue was accepted by the Republican leaders, and it was thereon that General Harrison was elected President, along with the Reed-McKinley Congress. The Republican party that had been a protective institution for some time, but not so much so as the President's message, defining as it did the difference between Republican and Democratic revenue policies, enabled it to become in that campaign. It was to keep the pledge made to the people in 1888, to revise the tariff with friendly hands, that Major McKinley and his committee set to work.

The Major, in presenting his wonderful bill to the House, did not feel compelled to discuss at length the difference between the economic policies of the two parties. The people understood them, and with

that knowledge had elected that Congress. The bill reduced taxation on internal revenue products over seventy millions, and as McKinley said in offering it to the House for its consideration: "The tariff part of the bill contemplates and proposes a complete revision. It not only changes the rates of duty, but modifies the general provisions of the law relating to the collection of duties. These modifications have received the approval of the treasury department." The administrative features of the McKinley law—there were really two laws, the administrative one being enacted in July, 1890—was really the joint work of McKinley and Senator Allison. Mr. Allison had had a bill on that line passed in the Congress before, and McKinley took it up and improved on it. It was so admirable in all of its features that it was little changed by the Democrats when they so disastrously passed the sugar-trust-Wilson-Gorman-Brice tariff bill in 1894.

It is useless to go into an extended comment on the tariff fight. One thing about the bill that is worth remembering is, that it recognized more fully than had been done before the fact that wherever possible, specific duties are the better, because they prevent under-valuations that fraudulently reduce the revenues, and thus at the same time the rates of duties. The McKinley bill also established an industry. The advance of the duty on tin plate made it possible to manufacture these plates in America. The Democratic campaign orators and others deliberately lied

MRS. McKINLEY'S ROOM.

THE WHITE HOUSE.

about this. The McKinley tariff established nearly two hundred mills for the manufacture of tin plate, which had an average of five million boxes a year. The American dinner-pail and the American canning factories were benefited by this and would have been even more so had it not been for the reduction of duty on tin plate made in 1894 by the Wilson bill. Yet, established as they were, they have struggled along somehow or other, though there are fewer mills than there would have been, and they are not producing as much tin plate. That was one great result of the McKinley bill.

The Major, in the debate in favor of the bill, called attention to the fact that the protective tariff had never failed It had aided in reducing a debt of $2,750,000,000 at the close of the war at a rate of sixty-two millions each year, or one hundred and seventy-four thousand dollars each day, and made the debt less than one billion. It might be mentioned here that Grover Cleveland's present administration has added $265,315,400 to the interest bearing debt since it came into power, or more than eighty millions a year, and most of this increase was caused by the Democratic tariff bill's revenue deficiencies.

The McKinley bill was amended in the Senate. It is the habit of some people to assume that the Senate had more to do with it than Major McKinley. Without proposing to detract one whit from the reputation of such able men as Senators Allison and Aldrich, who have fought in the Senate the battle of

protection for years, who stood manfully against the Wilson bill and did much to lessen its dangers to industries, it may be said that though amended in the Senate these amendments were in the line of what Major McKinley approved, such as were made necessary by conditions. The principle was his and most of the schedules. More than three-quarters of the changes of duties made by the Act of 1890—the McKinley bill—were made in the House. It is not worth while to discuss these changes and the causes of them. Suffice it to say that Major McKinley did the greatest amount of work on the tariff of 1890. He inspired it, and had it not been for him it might not have been enacted. The question is not so much one of schedules as of principle. The purpose of the McKinley bill was to produce protection and it succeeded in that. For his share of it Major McKinley deserves credit, and his labor was the greatest of any one concerned in constructing the measure. The Republican party appreciated this, and, therefore, nominated him at St. Louis.

The McKinley bill has been misrepresented, maligned, misconstrued, vilified, and all needlessly. The Democrats were intent upon their policy of free trade and started an agitation that resulted in the passage of the sugar trust tariff. The people now understand the differences between McKinley protection and Wilson free trade. There is no object lesson needed. The people have it now. Protection and its importance and necessity is understood thoroughly.

Besides establishing the tin-plate industry the McKinley bill made sugar free, and the workman and manufacturer got his sugar twenty pounds for the dollar as a result. That was a great boon, the greatest possible. The Wilson bill places a duty on it at the dictation of the sugar trust. That is a contrast between the two parties. Never did the country see better times, never were more men employed, never were people happier than under the McKinley bill, before a Democratic Congress and President had been elected to produce panic, depression, and disaster. Mills were running, everybody was employed, business brisk. It is needless to do more than mention this, because the past three years have showed the people the truth.

In Patchogue, New York, is a lace curtain factory which was established through protection—McKinleyism. Plushes are also now manufactured here, a great factory having moved from Huddersfield for that purpose. It brought capital and gave employment to labor. Instead of sending our money abroad for plushes, we buy them here; the wages of the workmen who make them are paid here. Then pearl buttons are now made here and they were not before, but why continue this argument for protection? It is not needed.

In dealing with the McKinley bill it is perhaps worth while to explain the reciprocity features. It has often been agreed that he and Mr. Blaine were not in accord on that, that McKinley was compelled

to yield to the forcefulness of Blaine. Major McKinley never opposed it. He never sought to take from Mr. Blaine the credit for reciprocity. He has always admitted its importance and the advantages that accrued from it. Perhaps there can be no better way to describe the matter than by quoting from an intimate friend of ex-Secretary Blaine. The gentleman referred to is William E. Curtis, formerly Secretary of the Bureau of American Republics, and at present the Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Record*. Mr. Curtis is a man of marked ability and high character. On August 19th, 1891, he was interviewed by a reporter of the Massillon, O., *Independent*. Mr. Curtis said that Mr. Blaine opposed any disturbance of the duties on South American products. To this the Ways and Means Committee did not agree. Then Mr. Curtis proceeded to say:

"When Mr. Blaine found that it was proposed to remove the duty on sugar he sent me to Mr. McKinley with a proposition which he wanted added to the bill as an amendment. It afterward became known as the Hale amendment. It provided that the President should be authorized to take off the duty on sugar whenever the sugar-producing nations removed their duties on our farm products and certain other articles.

"Mr. McKinley presented this amendment to the Committee on Ways and Means. It was not adopted. Mr. McKinley voted for it the first time it was presented. Then a second proposition containing some

modifications was presented, and Mr. McKinley voted for that, as he voted for the Blaine reciprocity amendment every time it was submitted in whatever form.

"It has been currently reported that Mr. Blaine denounced the McKinley bill with such vigor that he smashed his hat. Mr. Blaine's opposition to the bill was because of the free sugar clause. He criticised the refusal of Congress to take advantage of conditions which he thought were favorable to our trade. They proposed to throw away the duty on sugar when he wanted them to trade with it.

"When what was known as the Aldrich amendment was adopted Mr. Blaine was perfectly satisfied, and there is nothing in the current tales that he is unfriendly to Major McKinley. On the contrary, he is one of his warmest friends. Had it not been for Mr. McKinley and Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, the reciprocity clause in the Tariff Act would never have been adopted."

DEFEATED FOR CONGRESS; ELECTED GOVERNOR.

The McKinley bill became a law on October 1st, 1890. The Republican party was immediately rushed into a hot campaign. The measure they supported had not yet been fully understood, had not had a chance to demonstrate its advantages. The election of 1890 was disastrous for the party and many men fell, the Democrats securing an unprece-

dented majority in Congress. McKinley was one of those marked for slaughter. He had to contend against peculiar disadvantages. His district had been gerrymandered by the Legislature of Ohio, which was Democratic. Stark County, in which the Major lived, was placed in a district with three counties, Holmes, Wayne, and Medina, which the year before had given James E. Campbell a majority of 3,900. His own county was close, often Democratic, so Major McKinley had a hard fight before him. Nothing daunted he made it, appreciating that defeat was not unlikely. In truth the Legislature had singled him out for retirement. His opponent was ex-Lieutenant-Governor Warwick, a man of no force, but personally popular. It was a desperate fight. McKinley was everywhere, addressing people peculiarly strange to him. He knew how hard his path was, but he did not hesitate.

It was really one of the most notable contests in recent years. The power and force of the national Democracy was centered against him. Able speakers came to oppose him. The adroit David B. Hill, of New York, spent a week in the district. Mills was there and there were others. One county was very benighted. It has the reputation of having less education to the square inch than any other county in Ohio. It is very strongly Democratic, the majority often reaching 2,500. There McKinley met his worst enemy. Peddlers had been employed at so much per day to go through the country selling tin-

cups at extravagant prices. The people of the county were amazed. They asked the reason why. The answer was that the McKinley bill had done it. Democratic shopkeepers were employed to ask additional prices for their goods, and it was the same answer, "The McKinley bill did it." Just to think of it, tin-cups, such as are ordinarily used for drinking purposes, were retailed at a dollar apiece! It was an awful lie to overcome.

McKinley was defeated, but by 303 votes only. He polled two and a half thousand more votes in the district than General Harrison had two years before. It was a beggarly victory, indeed. It retired Major McKinley from Congress, but it made him his party's candidate for Governor the following year. The people of Ohio demanded it. The Republican leaders of the State saw that it was the thing to do. The vast majority of the party workers insisted upon his nomination. Major McKinley was living in Canton after the end of the Fifty-first Congress. He was approached and said he would not decline a nomination.

The convention that nominated him was a magnificent one. It was composed of the representative men of the party. Ex-Governor Foraker moved the nomination of the Major and ex-Governor Foster moved to make it unanimous. The writer was present as a delegate and reporter. The scene when the Major came to the platform to accept the nomination is almost indescribable. The delegates would

not permit him to speak for some moments, they cheered so loudly. They were enthusiastic. The convention felt that victory was certain. They were to a man for McKinley. There was no ill-feeling beneath the surface. It was as harmonious a convention as Ohio ever held.

The campaign was opened toward the last of August, and Major McKinley made one of his wonderful campaigns. He was in every county battling for protection and against free silver. The Cleveland convention of the Democrats had adopted a straightout free silver platform by a majority of 100. Cincinnati was opposing Campbell's nomination. Cincinnati Democrats were for good money. The convention was piqued at the Hamilton County people, and as a matter of spite, so it appeared to the writer, many delegates voted for free silver because Hamilton County was opposed to it. The silver sentiment was strong in the Democratic ranks, but there was a possibility that it might have been overcome had Hamilton County not been in bad odor. The campaign was an exciting one. The Democrats had carried the State against Foraker two years before, and they were determined to do so this time. They were unsuccessful, for McKinley was elected by more than 21,000 plurality.

McKinley was the nominee of his party in 1893. That renomination also was unanimous. The Democratic opponent was Lawrence T. Neal, a rabid free-trader. He made a close campaign, but was beaten

EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

from the beginning. The writer accompanied Major McKinley during that campaign, traveling with him into every county but six. The people arose *en masse* everywhere to see him. It was a triumphal journey throughout. Every hall where a meeting was held was overcrowded. It was often almost impossible to enter. Many open-air meetings were held, and greater crowds never heard a speaker in Ohio. The Governor never was in better form. He stood the trials of the campaign sturdily, wearing out some of those who were with him. He never seemed to mind fatigue. It was a hard campaign for the newspaper men. There were so many things to be said of the meetings, so many speeches by the Governor to be reported. The election was a greater triumph than the one two years before. McKinley received a plurality of 80,995.

At the Minneapolis convention that nominated Harrison, McKinley was permanent chairman. There was an undercurrent in favor of his nomination. He had gone as a Harrison delegate, and he fought against the sentiment in his own favor. It was hard to keep down. Even his own State was permeated with it. His best friends would not listen to his pleas to them to let him alone. It will be remembered that there was only one ballot for the Presidency. Before Ohio had been reached seventy-four votes had been cast for McKinley. His protests had been unavailing. There was a hush in the convention as Ohio was called. Chairman Nash

of the delegation arose and announced two votes for Harrison and forty-four for McKinley. The Governor jumped from his chair and challenged the vote. He was told that he had not the right to do so, since his alternate was sitting there. Chairman McKinley insisted that he had. Ex-Governor Foraker made a point of order that McKinley could not challenge the vote, and Chairman McKinley overruled it. He demanded the calling of the roll of Ohio's delegates. It was found that McKinley had forty-five votes and Harrison one, and the one for Harrison was cast by McKinley. He had been true to Harrison, but he could not control the sentiment of his State and prevent it from standing by him. Once before he had prevented his nomination by fighting it himself, but it was not to be permitted again. The Governor at that convention showed clearly his high idea of honor. It was natural for him to do so.

William McKinley was a model Governor. When he was inaugurated, in January, 1892, he knew very little of Ohio affairs, except such as he had gleaned in his various readings. Of course he knew the history of the Buckeye State, was fully conversant with its industries and needs, but as to State affairs, those with which he would have to deal, he was uninformed. However, he went to work to study the duties of his office thoroughly. He was a good judge of men. He made admirable appointments always. He managed the institutions of the State economically. He kept down appropriations wherever

possible, but, having no veto power, was seriously handicapped. However, his personal influence tended to reduce the danger of unfortunate legislation.

The National Guard of the State reached its highest efficiency under his two terms. They were in good fighting trim and were several times called out. There was a strike in the coal-mining regions of the State. As soon as it became apparent that troops were needed to preserve order, Governor McKinley ordered them out. There was no hesitancy, no fear of its effect on his political future. The Governor saw his duty and did it. As a result there was no bloodshed. The troops behaved admirably. Again, when there had been a horrible crime in Washington Court House, and the people of the town were about to lynch the criminal, Governor McKinley sent his troops there. They were under the command of a Democratic officer, Colonel Coit, of the Fourteenth Regiment. In the performance of his duty he ordered them to fire. Some were killed. The Governor sustained him, and did what he could to see that Coit got a fair trial when he was arrested on the charge of murder. And again the Ohio troops prevented trouble during the A. R. U.-Debs revolution. Ohio has never had a Governor who preserved better order, who had more courage in handling the difficult questions that came before him than did Governor McKinley. He retired from the governorship because he wanted to do so. They do

not believe in third terms in Ohio, and McKinley, able and admirable Governor that he was, would not go counter to traditions, though he could have had the nomination and would have been elected.

CHAPTER V.

McKinley's career in few words—The charm of his personal character—His habits of labor—Devotion to friends and family.

HIS life has been of great activity and success, wrought by himself, advanced by no influence, but earned by labor and study, by patriotism and statesmanship. It is a record creditable throughout, and in it there is no stain, no action that needs to be excused, nothing that must be defended, nothing that can be assaulted —a manly, courageous, laborious, serious, earnest, thorough, conscientious life, devoted to the service of his country, and beautified by a devotion to his wife that is as admirable as it is exceptional. Though Major McKinley fought and struggled for every preferment he secured, there is nothing unusual in the advance of a young man in America from humble surroundings to leadership—to the Presidency. But McKinley's career has been so singularly patriotic, so constantly opposed, because of the great principle of protection that he advocated, so serious, so clean, so brilliant, and so safe that it is most noteworthy. The distinction just conferred on him was earned.

Major McKinley's life has not been without its defeats, its bitterness through misrepresentation, its sorrow because of loss of children and his wife's invalidism, but a full conviction in the propriety,

righteousness, and importance of the cause which he has largely represented, as well as a courageous belief that the American people would ultimately approve his policy and appreciate his labors, for its maintenance has guided and encouraged him, and now he is about to reap the fruits of his life's labor by election to the Presidency. The first return for his self-sacrifice, for his devotion to country, for his patriotism, for his integrity, and for his abilities comes through the nomination just given him. It was a nomination made by the people three years ago when it became evident to all that the election of Grover Cleveland was a serious error, that the cry of tariff reform was a fraud, that the party which desired to destroy protection was a menace. The people, the workmen, the farmers, the merchants, the capitalists—all joined together in a demand that he be nominated. Their earnestness overcame the claims of others, some of them of distinguished merit. It disregarded the services of several men of statesmanship stature and it was obtained in opposition to the wishes and despite the interference of some professional politicians. The people were not satisfied until McKinley was nominated. For several months before the convention it was apparent that McKinley would be the candidate, though he had competitors of the highest distinction. Those who in his Ohio campaign saw how the people revered him, how they longed for a return to his policy of protection, believed from the time

of these contests that his nomination was inevitable.

He is deserving of the distinction given him, and it is undoubted that he has earned the advancement, indisputable that he is able, steadfast, firm, manly, trustworthy, safe, and able. The people insisted upon his nomination and it was made. It is then, without question, a popular choice, the selection by the people of one of the people to be the people's President. But two other Republican Presidential candidates were practically chosen before the convention assembled. These were heroes, and each of them men of and from the people. One was Abraham Lincoln, who was without real opposition, chosen for a second term by a grateful party representing a brave and patriotic people, that honored and revered the man who helped the country through the dark and sad and troublous days of the war with patience, manliness, and success. The other was Ulysses S. Grant, who was twice nominated with practical unanimity. Grant was a military hero, chosen because of his services in the field, and not at first by reason of any notable ability as a statesman. Each was a hero, each a patriot, and each in a different way. William McKinley is both soldier and statesman. As a boy, before he had left his teens, he was an officer, fighting in the field, enduring privations, and risking his life for the nation. As a man, he developed in intellectual force, strengthened by experience and study, inspired with belief in the truth and necessity of the

policy he advocated, and spurred on by antagonism. McKinley is a patriot. Lincoln freed the slaves. McKinley will relieve the country from free trade, from poverty, and from depression.

McKINLEY'S PERSONALITY.

The world knows William McKinley as a public man. His individuality is not understood, though here and there glimpses have been had of his personality, which have added to the respect in which he is held. It is not surprising that Major McKinley is not so well known as a private citizen, as a neighbor, and friend. The public has been more concerned with what he has accomplished, with what he represents, and with what he has opposed. The other side has not been brought out, except incidentally.

There is a warmth of feeling, a generosity of spirit, a sincerity, a purity of thought, a domesticity, an affectionate disposition, a depth of character, a vein of humor, a reserve, a patience under difficulties, a devotion to friends, a personal attractiveness and a breadth of character that make him admirable and lovable, that delights and benefits, that charms and wins, that inspires, and never wearies, that pleases and gratifies, and that makes one glad to see him, sorry to leave him, charmed to know him, and proud to be his friend. There is a magnetism that is attractive, a sunniness of disposition that is unexpected at first, an evenness of temper that is unusual,

a resignation that is composed, a reserve that is not often broken, but when it is there is a reward in the manliness, charitableness, friendliness, affection, trustfulness and confidence of the man.

Though imbued and filled with the importance of the principles of the party of which he has so long been a leader, Major McKinley is not self-centered, neither is he selfish, for he often sacrifices for others, always ready often to inconvenience himself for the pleasure or benefit of his friends. A man who has had as much admiration, as much flattery, as much success must necessarily understand that he has ability, must be confident of his powers, but in William McKinley that is not accompanied by conceit, for he is diffident, modest almost to bashfulness, but experience has made it possible for him to control his tendency to seek obscurity, to enjoy quiet instead of strife.

Major McKinley did not become a Presidential candidate because he sought honors, neither did he run for Governor of Ohio because he desired the office. He did not try to continue in Congress because he was anxious to remain in public life. There are those who may be unbelievers in this; but he did so because he felt he had a duty to perform, a mission to accomplish. Were he to follow the inclinations of his wife and of himself he would not be a public man now. He would not be about to go through an exacting campaign. On the contrary, years ago he would have settled down to the life of a lawyer,

going his way quietly and unostentatiously. His entrance into public life was almost a chance. That naturally resulted in his continuance therein. His services to the country have been at the sacrifice of money, for, as a lawyer, he could have earned, even in Canton, far more than he did as Representative or as Governor.

For ten years, each time Major McKinley has run for office, he did it in hesitation, because of the protests of his wife. To her his public career has been a sacrifice for country. She has felt that he has given far more than he received. On the day following his triumphal re-election to the Governorship of Ohio by a majority of nearly 82,000, Mrs. McKinley was told that her husband would be the next President of the United States. She shook her head firmly, and said he would not, that the Governorship was his last consent to stand for public office. She meant that, but she yielded to the exigencies of the situation, and as a good wife did what she could to aid him, preferring all the while that he should be a private citizen. Naturally Major McKinley is pleased and gratified with his political advancement. He would not be human if he were not, but he looks at it less as a personal victory than as the success of a principle which he holds most dear, and believes must be restored to the statute books, in such form as to suit the existing conditions.

There is one characteristic in Major McKinley that the newspaper man does not like. He refrains

from discussing questions for publication; declines to talk about them. While he was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the Fifty-first Congress, when the tariff bill was before his committee in process of construction, he almost invariably declined to give news of its progress. Possibly he did not know what news was. Certainly he would never tell a man about it. Skillful correspondents, accustomed to deal with public men, found difficulty in exacting information from him. The better the newsman knew the Major the less he secured, for his questions would be answered fully, but there would be an injunction of reserve that prevented any advantage from being obtained. Major McKinley never sought newspaper notoriety. He always shrank from it.

William McKinley is naturally dignified; but he himself is a tease, and a persistent one if the person made subject of his humor is teasable. It is not exactly mischievousness, but a kindly, friendly, and harmless pleasantry, showing an insight into character that often takes one by surprise. But no one ever takes any liberties with Major McKinley. No one ever slapped him on the back without finding that it was not an agreeable act. In fact, the better one learns to know Mr. McKinley the greater is the respect. There is no familiarity permitted, and, consequently, no contempt.

While Major McKinley does not yearn to be made the butt of a joke, he has a keen sense of

humor, and can tell a good story as well as he can make a tariff speech. He is delighted, when there are no more serious matters to be considered, to listen to amusing anecdotes and incidents, and has a hearty and appreciative laugh. Nevertheless, he does not like stories that rest for their point upon some vulgarity. He never tells one himself, and has always avoided having to listen to them. McKinley is never profane. He seldom gives expression to irritation, but calmly accepts what comes, patiently overlooking faults and situations that cannot be prevented. Many a time, when worn with prolonged campaigning and anxious for rest, something would occur that was aggravating, some arrangement would not be made. On one occasion he had not received his satchel containing a change of linen. Some one had blundered. It was a most provoking occurrence. The Major inquired whose was the responsibility, and contented himself with repeating several times, in a rather reflective way, "Well, that is nice." Then, when the culprit appeared with the valise, there was no complaint; simply thanks for getting it.

Major McKinley is always courtly. He is gracious as well. He never forgets that he is a gentleman, and is as dignified and careful of his words and conduct when with intimate friends as he is in public. He never forgets himself, never lounges, though he will take comfortable positions. He is an inveterate smoker. He likes strong cigars and enjoys them, and when on a campaign his companions knew

where the cigar-box was in his valise, and it was permitted for any one to go and help himself, and Major McKinley was pleased when he discovered he had been robbed.

Major McKinley is always careful about his dress. His clothes fit him well, are well made, but not extravagant. They are not such as attract attention. He wears a short frock coat, with trousers of the same material. The cloth is generally a black diagonal, though recently he has taken to rougher goods, but always black. A string tie is around his neck, and his watch chain is pretty, but severely plain. He wears a silk hat most of the time, though when traveling frequently puts on a slouch hat, such as is generally styled a Fedora. He makes a point of wearing cloth of American manufacture, and to assert that anything he wore was made abroad was to be met with an instant denial, and the statement that his tailor assured him that the cloth was of American make, and it always is good, strong, serviceable goods, that is attractive and satisfactory.

Cleanliness is one of the traits of the next President of the United States. His shoes are always polished and his hands well attended to. Dirt seems to be abhorrent to him. He shaves himself, and can carry on a conversation while cutting off the beard, and do so admirably, while it is not necessary for him to look into a glass to see where the razor goes. He never cuts himself, and shaves very close, seemingly dissatisfied until he finds that he can feel no

hair on the face, after running his hands over it several times in different directions. He is smooth-shaven always, and the unbearded face serves to bring out the strong lines, the thought-marks on the forehead and around the eyes, while the mouth shows firm lines, indicating perseverance and definiteness of purpose. His jaw is rather square and strong. The nose is muscular and indicative of character. The eyes are dark and sometimes obscured by the shagginess of his eyebrows, but when they are lifted up they gleam underneath and fascinate by their brightness, seeming black when brightened by conversation or earnestness. The Major wears his hair rather long. It is a dark brown, and of recent years gray has scattered through. It is a little thin on the temples and at the top of his head. It is fine and silky and full of electricity. The ears are small, and the teeth white and strong and well cared for. His is a remarkably refined face, showing great intellectual power, with a large head to set it off, and a broad forehead that is pale, as is the face, though exposure gives a brownish color.

In stature Major McKinley could be classed as medium. He stands perhaps five feet seven inches, just about an inch more than General Harrison. His head is well set on a broad, vigorous, yet graceful pair of shoulders. He has a little embonpoint, which the frock coat serves to hide. His legs are stocky, but well turned, and the feet small. In walking McKinley swings his shoulders from side to

side a little, goes with a firm step, the stride being long for one of his stature. He plants his foot firmly and raises it from the ground with a spring. His gait is brisk, active, showing that he does not waste time. He is not much at exercise, but often walks. He prefers to ride where possible, and though in his youthful days considerable of an athlete, he prefers to sit and enjoy the air outside rather than to exert himself by walking. Major McKinley has a deep chest and a broad one, too. He has great lung power, and always breathes deeply. If he were measured it would probably appear that he has a chest expansion of five or six inches at least.

McKinley's disposition is cheerful. He never permits small things to worry him. Defeat never makes him gloomy. Possibly he is a fatalist, but he has such confidence in the ultimate triumph of the principle of protection which he represents that he is never discouraged. Life is serious to him, but that does not prevent him enjoying it. He takes it seriously and studiously, acquiring information constantly by asking questions and studying. He never stops a subject until he knows it thoroughly. When he says a thing is so, it is. He resembles Senator Allison in that respect.

He is particularly charming to young people. He seems to understand them, and children like him, for he has a way of dealing with them that arouses confidence and then regard.

Possibly they appeal to him because he lost his

own. The children of his neighbors in Canton are his friends. For them he has always a cheery good morning and a friendly word. With the older people he is deferential. This is particularly noticeable in his treatment of his mother, who is now nearly eighty-eight. He shows always the most affectionate interest in her welfare, while she looks at him with eyes that are full of pride and love. The Governor's father died a year ago. There was a friendly familiarity between them that was touching. There was devotion on the son's part and admiration from the father. It is in his home life that McKinley is most lovable. To his wife he is always the lover, showing the delicate attentions that are so pleasing to a woman, and particularly to one whose health is infirm. There is a tenderness in his voice when he calls her name that shows he speaks from the heart. When she praises him there is a deprecating look, indicative of satisfaction at the wifely affection, but embarrassment that she should show such admiration. Mrs. McKinley looks upon her husband as the incarnation of all virtues. Her love, after twenty-five years of married life, is as of the honeymoon.

INCIDENT OF EARLY LIFE.

After concluding his study of the law with Judge Glidden, William McKinley moved to Canton, where he had been preceded by his sister, Anna, who was up to the time of her death the most successful and

popular school teacher in the public schools of that city of 38,000 people. Young McKinley stuck a shingle out from a back room of the then public building, a three-story brick structure which stood where the court-house now stands. McKinley's room was to the rear of the law offices of Judge George W. Belden, who had served many years on the Common Pleas and Circuit bench, and was a leader in his profession in Ohio. One evening the Judge was sick. He stepped back to the office of his new young neighbor and asked him to try a case for him the very next morning. McKinley said he couldn't. He wasn't able. He didn't know enough. He was not familiar with the law in the case and there was no time to look it up. The Judge said he himself was sick and McKinley could try the case and must do it. McKinley sat up all night studying the law points and the next day argued the case and won it. As he was finishing his argument he noticed Judge Belden step into the court-room and take a rear seat. There was a twinkle in his eye. But McKinley did not see him again for a week. Then the Judge stepped into his humble office. He laid down twenty-five dollars, saying: "Well, Mac, you won the case; I told you you would."

"Yes, I won it, but I don't want any pay for it, and if I did, I couldn't take this much."

"You must take it," replied the Judge.

"I couldn't take so much, Judge," responded the young lawyer.

"But that's all right," rejoined the Judge; "I get an even one hundred dollars from it, and keep the seventy-five dollars for myself. And what is more, I want you for a partner."

Young McKinley relented, and Belden & McKinley practiced together for several years, until Judge Belden died. They were one of the leading law firms of Eastern Ohio.

GOVERNOR McKINLEY'S MONEY TROUBLE.

The fact is familiar that Governor McKinley had the misfortune to indorse paper for a friend, and lost so much money that he resolved to abandon public life to earn the sum so far as it was over and above his means. The story was told in the New York *World*, in explanation of some abusive remarks touching McKinley, in March last, when it was seen that he was becoming very prominent in the Presidential contest.

On February 17th, 1893, every dollar McKinley possessed was swept away, and he was overwhelmed with an indebtedness of between $90,000 and $100,000. It all came about through the failure of Robert L. Walker, capitalist, banker, manufacturer, and boyhood companion of Governor McKinley.

Mr. Walker lived in Youngstown. He was President of the Farmers' National Bank, the Girard Savings Bank, a stamping-mill company, a stove and range company, and interested in several coal mines in Western Ohio and Eastern Pennsylvania. Mr.

Walker was a potent factor in the community, had the confidence of everybody, and was rated above $250,000. When young McKinley returned from the war and began the study of law and politics, Walker had helped him. When McKinley was elected to Congress he found the campaign expenses heavy, and a mortgage which was due on his wife's property, forced him to negotiate a loan of $2,000 from Walker.

This Major McKinley paid out of his salary as Congressman within two years. It is probable that similar loans were made and paid afterwards. Mrs. McKinley was an invalid, and as Major McKinley's income was only $5,000 and an occasional legal fee he was never able to save anything. It was only during campaigns that he required these loans, and the money was expended in campaign assessments. When he had won fame in Congress he was no longer assessed anything, and in the last ten years of his life in Congress he was able to accumulate $20,000. It was invested in securities and real estate. These securities consisted of stock in various coal mines and undeveloped coal fields. The chief real estate item was the modest home in Canton. Early in 1893 Mr. Walker told Major McKinley that he was hard pressed for ready money. He asked the Governor to indorse his notes, which he proposed to have discounted. Without investigating or inquiring into the matter Major McKinley instantly consented. He only knew that his old friend,

the man who stood by him in early years, wanted assistance, and anything he could do to help him he cheerfully did. The notes were made payable in thirty, sixty, and ninety days, and Major McKinley indorsed, as he supposed, about $15,000 worth. They were discounted as Walker planned and Major McKinley thought no more of the matter until February 17th, 1893.

On that date Youngstown and Mahoning Valley was startled by the assignment of Robert L. Walker. A judgment of $12,000 against the Youngstown Stamping Company caused the failure. The stove company, the coal mines and the other enterprises went down the next day. Then the banks which held the Walker paper began to figure. Major McKinley was leaving his home to go to the banquet of the Ohio Society in New York when he was informed of the disaster. He cancelled his New York engagement and took the first train to Youngstown.

There he learned that instead of being on the Walker paper for $15,000, his liability in that direction was nearly $100,000. He could not understand it. Banks all over the State telegraphed him they had some of the paper. He was under the impression the paper had been discounted in but three banks. He held a conference with his friends. He told them he had endorsed a number of notes, but he understood that fully half of them were made out to take up notes which he had first endorsed and which had fallen due.

A little investigation showed that the old notes were still unpaid and the new notes had doubled, trebled, quintupled the debt. The Walker liabilities were about $200,000 and the assets not half that sum.

After the conference with his Youngstown friends Major McKinley said: "I can hardly believe this, but it appears to be true. I don't know what my liabilities are, but whatever I owe shall be paid dollar for dollar."

McKinley was not interested in any of Walker's business enterprises. The connection was simply one of friendship.

Mrs. McKinley owned property valued at $75,000, left her by her father. On February 22d the Governor and his wife made an absolute and unqualified assignment of all their property to trustees—H. H. Kohlsaat, of Chicago; Myron T. Herrick, of Cleveland, and Judge Day, of Canton, Ohio—to be turned over, without preference, for the equal benefit of the creditors.

Friends urged Mrs. McKinley to retain an interest in her property, but she refused, and executed a deed to M. A. Hanna, of Cleveland. At this time, Major McKinley said: "I did what I could to help a friend who had befriended me. The result is known. I had no interest in any of the enterprises Mr. Walker was carrying. The amount of my indorsements is in excess of anything I dreamed. There is but one thing for me to do—one thing I

would do—meet this unlooked-for burden as best I can. I have this day placed all my property in the hands of trustees, to be used to pay my debts. It will be insufficient, but I will execute notes and pay them as fast as I can. I shall retire from politics, take up the practice of law, and begin all over again."

The news of the disaster, and the stand taken by McKinley and his wife, created a feeling of sympathy throughout the country. The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* started a popular fund, and money and offers of assistance began to pour in.

McKinley returned the money to the contributors, thanking them for their interest, but refused to accept a dollar.

Finally a number of personal friends of the Governor, M. A. Hanna, of Cleveland; Philo Armour, Marshal Field, and H. H. Kohlsaat, of Chicago; Bellamy Storer and Thomas McDougall, of Cincinnati; Myron T. Herrick, of Cleveland, and others, decided to subscribe privately to a fund to pay the Walker notes.

Mr. Kohlsaat, who managed the fund, said to *The World* correspondent: "One of the chief reasons why the subscription plan was adopted was because a number of subscriptions were received anonymously and could not be returned. There were over 4,000 subscriptions sent in, and when the last piece of paper was taken up, bearing Major McKinley's name, no more subscriptions were received and some were returned. No list of the subscribers was kept, and

Governor McKinley does not know to this day, with the possible exception of four or five names, who contributed the money.

"When Governor McKinley saw the publication of the subscription scheme he wrote me absolutely declining to receive a dollar. Mr. Hanna and his other friends told him to leave the matter alone, for if his friends wished to assist him they should have the privilege."

Myron T. Herrick, of Cleveland, was treasurer of the fund and took up the paper as fast as presented.

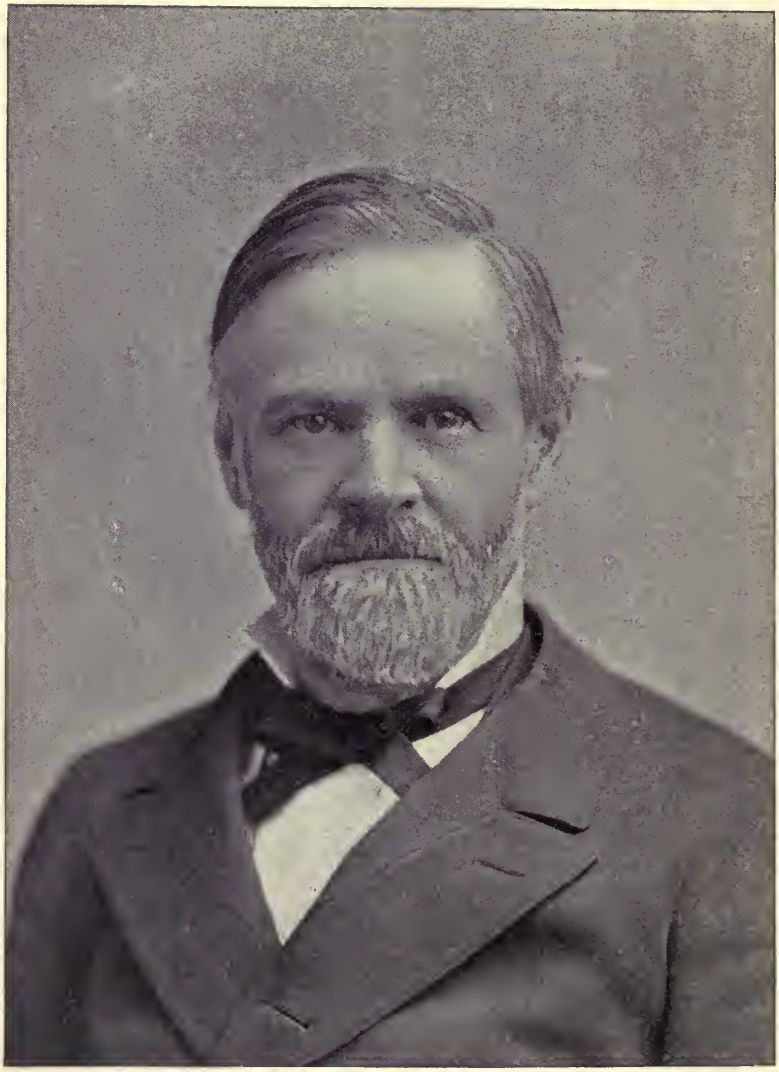
Mrs. McKinley's property was then deeded back to her. She is worth to-day probably $75,000. McKinley has his original $20,000 and a little more. He saved nothing, it is said, during his second term as Governor.

The matter has been referred to as showing a lack of business ability on the part of Governor McKinley. This is hardly justified. George Tod, whose business ability will not be questioned, says he would have endorsed Robert Walker's paper for half a million dollars the day before his failure. Such being his standing and such the close personal relations between the two men it is not strange that McKinley endorsed for Walker to a large amount.

This is a perfectly straight story. Major McKinley and his wife were good for the money, and resolved to pay all the obligations and returned the first subscriptions; but the final arrangement to take up McKinley's paper as fast as presented was so organized

he was constrained to submit to its execution. The whole transaction was one of undue confidence in the business ability, integrity, and standing of a friend, and the initiation of it was in the payment of a debt of gratitude. It is a chapter in the career of a man who has given his labor for the general benefit, paying scant attention to personal interests; and the fact that Governor McKinley was saved for the public service is most creditable to the gentlemen who are responsible for the adjustment, and the action of the Governor himself was in every detail of his contact with it that of a man of absolute probity.

BLAINE AT WORK.
Writing his answer to Gladstone.



HON. JOHN SHERMAN.

CHAPTER VI.

McKINLEY NOT A MAN OF ONE IDEA.

His superior distinction as a protectionist has caused him to be erroneously accused of exclusive devotion to that subject—The great range of his public speeches and addresses—A superb tribute from General Grosvenor, giving a list of subjects.

THE reputation of Major McKinley as the foremost champion of the American system of protection has for some years been familiar to all civilized people. He represents the American idea, and is as prominently in the eye of the public in England, France, Germany, and Austria as in his own country, and is in Spain, Italy, Sweden, and Russia a man of mark in all business communities, and of immense conspicuity in all commercial circles and manufacturing towns; and so far as the Asiatics are interested in the affairs European and American, they are informed of McKinley as the man who stands for the principle that the Americans should diversify their industries and aid home markets with home manufactories, mingling producers and consumers on the same soil, aiding the farmers by diverting labor to other occupations than agricultural, and

causing competition among our own manufacturers in our own markets, by protecting them from foreign intrusion upon conditions unfavorable to our higher and broader interests. There is a curious bitterness of personal hostility abroad to Major McKinley. In some of the manufacturing districts of Germany, McKinley is regarded as a public enemy—almost a monster. American children in German schools have been astonished, offended, and mortified by these manifestations of feeling, and of one thing Americans can be sure, and it is that those who make a virtue in England or the Continental countries of Europe, of being hostile to McKinley, are not animated by apprehensions that his policy is injurious to the people of the United States. They hold that he is disposed to build up his own country at the expense of Europe; that his statesmanship is American, but not cosmopolitan, and that is not an unreasonable conclusion.

It was the earliest fame of McKinley in Congress and as a Republican politician on the stump that he made his protection speeches intensely interesting, and that no one else did so with the same certainty and efficacy; and it was out of this that the unwarranted impression grew that the discussion of the tariff was his sole specialty. In truth no one had a greater range of subjects. Born in a manufacturing town—in his youth up to the time he became a boy soldier, seventeen years of age—one of those intently interested in the prosperity of the manufacturing industries that demanded the protection that was

declared in the first law passed by the American Congress, McKinley was a student of this great matter from infancy, and the facts and sentiments of the manufacturing people were for him in the air he breathed; and he saw and felt the advancing importance of the issues of protection because the world was at last so small that the nations over the sea were our neighbors. Liverpool was, in Henry Clay's time, further from American ports, than Canton and Melbourne now are, and the manufacturing districts of England are closer to us, in time and cost of transportation, than Connecticut was at the beginning of the War of States. The same thing may be said of Germany and Massachusetts.

McKinley grew up with the question and was its master long before he was its expounder fronting the world, and its champion at home. He is popular here for the same reason that he is unpopular abroad. His name has swept the country as a Presidential candidate, because of its unquestionable and unexampled significance. The meaning of it is plain to the people, and what it means they want. He has friends who have been ardent and able organizers and workers—but they have only handled the material that was abundant and seasoned. The fire was not kindled in green wood—with laborious pains. The woods were ready to burn and the wind was fair. The people have done this thing themselves and they will see it through. They are dissatisfied with the free-trade experiments of Mr. Cleveland.

The Democratic threats to throw down the defenses of American industry were themselves disastrous—and the weariness of uncertainty became an intolerable misfortune—and the tariff that was neither for protection nor revenue was a blow that seemed, under the circumstances, so unprincipled and wanton, the people resented it as damaging without excuse and insolent without provocation. The Hon. Charles H. Grosvenor, one of the Ohio men who has served long with McKinley in Congress and knew him intimately in personal and public life, has contributed an excellent character sketch of his friend notable for its firmness and accuracy of touch, and breadth and clearness of view, and that has been exceedingly serviceable in making known the variety of the political life of the man who has been so heedlessly criticised as a statesman with one idea and one speech. General Grosvenor says:

"Governor McKinley is a man of most attractive personality. He was born and reared from childhood to manhood among the people of the country. He learned in the school from which so many graduates have risen to distinction in the United States—the school of adversity and personal endeavor.

"He is now fifty-two years of age, in the very prime of a splendid physical and mental manhood. He is not only vigorous mentally and strong from every possible standpoint of manhood, but is constantly growing and developing, and it may be said

of him with perfect propriety that he has never occupied a position in private or public life where he did not fill to the fullest measure all the expectations of his friends and constituents. Whether as a soldier in the field—young, radiant with patriotism, buoyant with impassion—or as a young lawyer entering upon the noble profession of his choice, as a Congressman representing the great interests of his district and State, or as the executive of the great State of Ohio, he has, under all circumstances, risen to the full measure of the opportunity and discharged every duty and every trust with unwavering zeal and pre-eminent success.

"He has been an ardent student of politics. He left a prosperous and growing professional business, and a flattering career just opening before him, and entered the field of politics—a young man full of enthusiasm as a Republican. He has always been faithful to party duty, and while maintaining his own integrity of conscience, and while criticising party platforms and party movements at times, yet no one is truer to party obligation and party fealty than he. Kindly considerate of his opponent, always bearing testimony of the good faith of those of other political organizations, he, nevertheless, stands firmly and vigorously for the tenets of his own party. He is a Republican from honest conviction, and does battle for Republican organization and Republican victory from a sense of public duty.

"His intense Americanism has had much to do

beyond special matters of political contention. Believing that this country is and should be for the homes and interests of the American people, he advocates the principles that, in his judgment, best subserve that result.

"By intense Americanism it must not be supposed that he confines the definition of Americanism to the men and principles exclusively of American birth. He does now and always has recognized this country as not only the home of American-born, but also of the truly valuable citizens of other countries who come here and renounce their citizenship and all foreign powers, and fully assimilate the principles of our government and become loyal to the Constitution, and industrial and faithful citizens of the United States.

"During Governor McKinley's long service in Congress he gave special attention to the subject of the tariff, and as a member of the Ways and Means Committee devoted much of his time to revenue legislation; but it must not be understood that Governor McKinley is a man of power and a man of knowledge upon a single subject. It has been said of him incidentally that he is a statesman upon a single question and a man of learning with a single idea. No greater error could possibly be suggested.

"Since the expiration of his term in Congress and during his four years in the administration as Governor of Ohio, he has delivered addresses upon a great variety of questions, and discussed a large

number of subjects, all outside of his specialty in national politics. He has made many notable speeches upon questions wholly independent and differing from mere political considerations. Among the notable speeches which he made in Congress other than upon the tariff question were: upon the contest against Judge Taylor in the Forty-fourth Congress; the subject of free and fair elections in the same Congress; a memorial address on the death of Garfield; payment of pensions in the Forty-ninth Congress; the Dependent Pension bill in the same Congress; the purchase of government bonds in the Fiftieth Congress; memorial address on the death of John A. Logan; the question of a quorum in the Fifty-first Congress; civil service reform in the Fifty-first Congress; the Direct Tax Refunding bill; the Hawaiian Treaty; the Eight-hour law, and the Silver bill. These speeches, which are of the highest order of excellence, covered a wide range of subjects.

"Outside of Congress his speeches and public utterances have covered a still wider range. Among those that might be noted as of special interest are his address, at Atlanta, Ga., before the Piedmont Chautauqua Association; the 'American Volunteer Soldier,' Memorial Day address, at New York City; 'Prospect and Retrospect,' an address to the pioneers of the Mahoning Valley; 'The American Farmer,' an address before the Ohio State Grange; 'Our Public Schools,' an address at the dedication

of a public school building; 'New England and the Future,' an address before the Pennsylvania New England Society; 'The Tribune's Jubilee,' an address at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the *New York Tribune;* 'Pensions and the Public Debt,' a Memorial Day address at Canton, Ohio; 'No Compromise with the Demagogue,' at the Ohio Republican State Convention of 1891; a Fourth of July address, at Woodstock, Conn.; 'The American Workingman,' a Labor Day address at Cincinnati; the 'State of Ohio,' an address before the Ohio State Republican League; 'Oberlin College,' an address before the Cleveland Alumni; 'Issues make Parties,' an address to the Republican College Clubs at Ann Arbor, Mich.; his notification address to Mr. Harrison; a Fourth of July oration at Lakeside; 'The Triumphs of Protection,' an address before the Chautauqua Association, at Beatrice, Neb.; 'An Auxiliary to Religion,' an address at the dedication of the Young Men's Christian Association at Youngstown, Ohio; an oration at the dedication of the Ohio Building at the World's Fair at Chicago; a memorial address upon the life and character of Rutherford B. Hayes; a speech at Minneapolis upon questions of national import; an address on Washington before the Union League Club, of Chicago, February 22d, 1893; an address to the students of the Northwestern University at Chicago on 'Citizenship and Education;' 'Law, Labor, and Liberty,' a Fourth of July oration before the labor organiza-

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CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

tions of Chicago; addresses before the National Jewish Association at Cleveland; before the National Sængerfest at Cleveland; Grant memorial address at New York; an address at the dedication of the Grant monument at Galena, Ill.; an address before the Epworth League of the United States at Cleveland; an address before the Christian Endeavorers of the Baptist Union, and before the Christian Endeavor Association of the United Presbyterian Church at Columbus; an address to the Lutheran Synod at Columbus; an address at Albany, N. Y., on Abraham Lincoln; an address before the Chamber of Commerce at Rochester, N. Y., on 'Business and Politics;' before the State (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce on 'Business and Citizenship;' before the German Veterans of the United States, at Columbus; a Memorial Day address at Indianapolis; an address before the Grand Army of the Republic at Pittsburg, and most notably, his splendid oration at the dedication of Chickamauga and Chattanooga Park, and at the Atlanta Exposition his speech upon 'Blue and Gray.'

"A careful perusal of these speeches, orations, and addresses will show that Governor McKinley, while an absolute master of all that relates to the tariff and all phases of governmental revenue, has yet distinguished himself in these other fields of oratory by the same thoroughness of knowledge and the same beauty of oratorical effect. His oratory is of the choicest character; phrases and sentences come tripping and bubbling forth from him apparently with-

out preparation, apparently without effort, forming the most beautiful constellations of oratorical effect and oratorical beauty.

"It is not an exaggerated statement to say that Governor McKinley has made addresses, orations, and speeches of the very highest order, judged from the point of view of oratory and of thorough knowledge of the subjects, upon a more diversified line of subjects than can be justly attributed to many Americans of to-day. Indeed, we are at a loss to recall at this moment any one who has exhibited in this country a wider range of subjects with a more perfect handling of the same. He has addressed more people in the United States upon the various topics upon which he has spoken by far than any other living man, and he has been seen by a greater number of the people of the United States than any other man now living.

"He is personally exceedingly popular among the masses of the people. It is safe to say that since the untimely death of James G. Blaine no American citizen has drawn to public gatherings anything like the number of men that have flocked to hear Governor McKinley. In the campaign of 1894 he traveled and spoke from platforms and Pullman cars in nearly all the States of the Nation where political contests were raging, and whether in the great Republican State of Ohio, or in the close and doubtful State of Missouri, or in the great crowds which met him in New Orleans, his audiences were absolutely unparalleled.

"His nearness to the people, his closeness to the very sympathies and hearts of the masses of the American people, has not been excelled by the experience of any American within the memory of man. He has had experience in high executive office. For four years he has served as Governor of the great State of Ohio. During that time many events and some serious disturbances have happened in the State which brought out his strong and commanding executive force."

The space at command will not permit the reproduction of the great mass of public utterances by Governor McKinley, but we propose to present enough passages, selected with the view of preferring that which is characteristic and that together will testify the seriousness and searching studies with which he has made himself familiar with a range of topics equal in scope to those that have received the attention of his age and country, and we devote the chapters immediately succeeding this to the addresses in which he has discussed affairs in his characteristic style, showing the wide field of thought with which he is familiar, and in the treatment of which he displays the energy, sincerity, and scholarship that he devotes to the service of the people.

CHAPTER VII.

McKINLEY ON CIVIC PATRIOTISM.

Address at Rochester, N. Y.—Studying conditions of government—Public opinion the basis—Zeal after election—The people's business—Duty of business men—Manufacturing interests—Our best market—An extraordinary spectacle.

VERY rarely has there been a more powerful statement of the obligations and importance of civic patriotism than that by Governor McKinley, at Rochester, N. Y., before the Chamber of Commerce of that city. It is the more forcible because it is in the simplest business language—and the direct association of good citizenship with good business is remarkable and impressive.

CIVIC PATRIOTISM.

GOVERNOR McKINLEY AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., FEB. 13TH, 1895.

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"I cannot forego making grateful acknowledgment of the honor of the invitation of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Rochester which brings

me here to-night. It would have been more agreeable to me to have been a silent guest at your table, freed from the responsibility of making an address.

"These are times when the wisest words are wanted and the careless should be unspoken. I wish more than ever in my life for the power to speak the words which, at a crisis like the present, are so much needed. The people throughout the country are at this moment giving more sober consideration to the duties of citizenship than probably at any previous period. They are studying conditions in national, State, and city governments. They are reflecting upon their responsibility and power in relation to these conditions, having uppermost in mind the possibility to improve them.

"'What can we do to better them?' is the inquiry engaging every thoughtful mind, and which comes almost unbidden from every tongue. The power, as well as the responsibility, the people are beginning to realize, rests with them. Their duty they want to know, and knowing it, they are ready to do it.

"Our government, National, State, and Municipal, rests upon public opinion. Public opinion creates free governments, and upholds them for good or for ill. Public opinion, however good, if indifferent, has no vital force. When aroused, it may check an evil in public administration, but the evil will resume its sway the moment the public sentiment which arrested it lapses into indifference. Public opinion, to secure real reforms and hold them, must not be fitful and

spasmodic; it must be vigorous, vigilant, steady, and constant, and as sleepless in its activity as the enemy of right is known always to be. Swift as public judgment sometimes is, and justly is, in the condemnation of public officials and public policies, something more than this is required. Execution of the public will must follow the public judgment. And this is only possible when the same public is alert and determined that its judgment shall not be a cold formality, but a living fact, to be respected and enforced.

"Zeal after an election is quite as essential as before. The cause which was successful at the polls demands constant zeal for its practical realization. The best agents of the popular will are made better by the incessant watchfulness of their principals. Not watchfulness alone, but support, reinforcement, and encouragement are necessary. The battle is only begun when the first line of intrenchments is taken. The army is quite as necessary in the engagements which are to follow. The election only determines public policy. It has then to be carried out. It requires the people co-operating continuously with the public officers to put into the forms of law and administration their declared purpose. The election settles much or little dependent upon how the election decrees are interpreted and executed. The election only declares the people's purpose. After this must come the fulfillment, for the promises of the election should always be sacredly kept. Here comes

'the tug of war.' Then is not the time for relaxation on the part of the citizen, but for renewed and redoubled effort and vigilance. If then the people become indifferent, you may be sure the public officer, however strong and true and well meaning, will be inadequate for the task. The official is quick to catch the spirit of the people.

"Lincoln said, as he journeyed to Washington in 1861, in response to the address of welcome by Governor Morton, of Indiana, at the city of Indianapolis:

"'In all the trying places in which I may be placed, and doubtless I will be placed in many such, my reliance will be upon you, the people of the United States, and I wish you to remember now and forever that it is your business, not mine alone.'

"No truth was ever more manifest or more significant, then and now, than that uttered by Mr. Lincoln.

"Government of the people is the people's business, and if they neglect it, government and people both suffer. The duty of the citizen does not end when the polls are closed on election day. He has, by the act of voting, performed an important duty, but the 364 days of the year remaining each has its own distinct duty, sometimes quite as important as the one on election day.

"Interest in public affairs, National, State, and city, should be ever present and active, and not abated from one year's end to the other. No American citizen is too great and none too humble to be

exempt from any civic duty, however subordinate. Every public duty is honorable.

"If the best citizens will not unite to serve the State or city, the worst may and generally will be in control. There is in every State and city a majority in favor of the best government, and when they fail to secure it, it is because the majority is indifferent and without unity of purpose and action. Business men cannot, with safety, stand aloof from political duties. Their success or failure in their own enterprises is often involved in good or bad government. The great danger to the country is indifferentism.

"This menace often comes from the busy man or man of business, and sometimes from those possessing the most leisure or learning. I have known men engaged in great commercial enterprises to leave home on the eve of an election, and then complain of the result, when their presence and the good influence they might properly have exerted would have secured a different and better result. They run away from one of the most sacred obligations in a government like ours, and confide to those with less interest involved and less responsibility to the community, the duty which should be shared by them. What we need is a revival of the true spirit of popular government, the true American spirit where all—not the few—participate actively in government. We need a new baptism of patriotism; and suppressing for the time our several religious views upon the

subject, I think we will all agree that the baptism should be by immersion. There cannot be too much patriotism. It banishes distrust and treason, and anarchy flees before it. It is a sentiment which enriches our individual and National life. It is the firmament of our power, the security of the Republic, the bulwark of our liberties. It makes better citizens, better cities, a better country, and a better civilization.

"The business life of the country is so closely connected with its political life that the one is much influenced by the other. Good politics is good business. Mere partisanship no longer controls the citizen and country. Men who think alike, although heretofore acting jealously apart, are now acting together, and no longer permit former party associations to keep them from co-operating for the public good. They are more and more growing into the habit of doing in politics what they do in business. Strong as the party tie may be, it is not so strong as the business tie. Men would rather break with their party than break up their business. They prefer individual and National prosperity to party supremacy, and a clean public service to party spoils. The business man cannot stand aloof from public affairs without prejudice to his own business and without neglecting the grave duties which he owes the State. Wholesome political activity in the business world is promotive of the general good. Interest in public affairs by spurts is probably better than no interest at all, but the steady, uninterrupted,

every-day interest is the crying need of the hour and the only path of safety. The best results in free government can be had in no other way.

"You cannot hope to improve public affairs by withholding your own good offices. If you would clear and purify the atmosphere of our political life, you must lend your own energy and virtue and intelligence and honesty to do it.

"The business men of the country have devolving upon them a grave responsibility. It is no easy task to keep the mighty wheels of industry in operation. Idle wheels mean idle men and idle capital. Both draw upon their accumulations, and each is unprofitable when the other is unemployed. Think of the vast capital invested in manufactures in this country, and what skill and watchfulness are required to keep it at work! The manufactures of the United States in 1890, engaged $2,900,735,884 of capital, and the value of the output was $4,860,286,837. The making of these products furnished steady and remunerative occupation to 2,251,134 persons; and the stupendous sum of $1,221,170,454 poured into the then happy and prosperous homes of the American workingmen—nearly four millions of dollars for each working-day, and nearly one-half million dollars for every working-hour of every working-day of the year 1890. Our manufactures have made steady advance from 1865 to 1892; nearly one million more persons were employed in the year 1890 than in 1880, and more were employed in 1892 than had

ever been employed in any previous year in our history, and more, it is needless to say, than have been employed since; and the wages paid in 1890 were more than double the amount paid in 1880. The value of our manufacturing products in 1890 was more than 100 per cent. greater than in 1880. I do not think even the business men of this country appreciate—I am sure that the people at large do not appreciate—the full magnitude of the manufacturing interests of the United States, and the wealth which agriculture and manufactures and labor working together have made for the Republic. Our wealth in 1890 was $61,469,000,000. In 1880 it was $43,642,000,000. From 1870 to 1890 it increased $31,391,000,000, or almost twice the entire wealth of the Empire of Russia. Take Great Britain, the richest nation in the old world, with the accumulations of centuries, and our wealth exceeds her's in 1880 by $276,000,000.

"In 1880 our wealth was 23.93 per cent. of the wealth of all Europe. Our earnings were 28.01 per cent. of those of Europe, and our increase of wealth was 49.28 per cent. of European increase. From 1870 to 1880 the per capita of wealth of Europe decreased nearly 3 per cent., while in the United States there was an increase of nearly 39 per cent. The freight that passed through the St. Mary's Falls Canal in 1890 exceeded by 2,257,876 tons the entire tonnage of all the nations which passed through the Suez Canal in 1889. Our home mar-

kets have consumed heretofore five times as much of our manufactured products as Great Britain exported of hers to all the markets of the world. Our products are carried to our own people and distributed among them with greater facility and at cheaper rates, taking into account distance, than products are carried in any other country in the world.

"How are we to get back what we have lost? How is the vast capital now invested in manufactures to be preserved and made profitable? Only by keeping it busy and constantly at work. Capital scorns idleness; it loves work if for no other reason than that it loves gain. Capital in manufactories which are shut down is not like money on deposit subject to call, or in the strong box hoarded away, which, while it earns nothing, keeps the principal sum intact and unimpaired. The closed mill depreciates the value of machinery and buildings and land and everything connected with it, and it is ever wearing away the capital invested in it. This is followed by impoverishment to the owners, injury to the community in which it is located, and destitution to those who have been employed.

"Every business man would, therefore, rather run his factory than close it, because he wants his investment to earn him something. When closed, his capital, so far as any immediate profit is to come, is stopped. It is with him a question whether he can run with as little loss as he can stop. If he can, he

will always run. If he cannot, he is bound to stop. He cannot run at all if there is no demand for his product. Production requires consumption. Markets are inseparable from manufactures. The manufacturer must have a market; he wants the best market if he can get it, and he has come to learn where it is and how to get it. He knows, as he never knew before, how he lost it, and he knows how to regain it. We know, and we do not know it any better than our competitors in foreign lands, that the American market—our home market—is the best of all. We not only want to keep our home market, but we want a foreign market for our surplus products of manufacture and agriculture. We do not want it, however, at the loss of our home market. I am sure we do not want it when it shall involve the idleness and destitution and degradation of our own labor. We want not only to send our products abroad, but we want them to go abroad in our own vessels, sailing under our own flag. We should not depend upon our commercial rivals for the means of reaching competitive markets. We can well supply, and, for the general good, furnish our own transportation to foreign ports with fair encouragement, and it should not be withheld. Many markets of the world are open to us if we could reach them directly without trans-shipment, with our own ships.

"The general situation of the country demands of the business men, as well as the masses of the

people, the most serious consideration. We must have less partisanship of a certain kind, more business, and a better National spirit. We need an aggressive partisanship for country. There are some things upon which we are all agreed. We must have enough money to run the government. We must not have our credit tarnished and our reserve depleted because of pride of opinion, or to carry out some economic theory unsuited to our conditions, citizenship, and civilization. The outflow of gold will not disturb us if the inflow of gold is large enough. The outgo is not serious if the income exceeds it. False theories should not be permitted to stand in the way of cold facts. The resources which have been developed, and the wealth which has been accumulated in the last third of a century in the United States, must not be impaired or diminished or wasted by the application of theories of the dreamer or doctrinaire. Business experience is the best lamp to guide us in the pathway of progress and prosperity.

"What a spectacle to behold! A government, which, in thirty-three years, has passed through the mightiest war in human history, which created a debt to save the Union; that seemed most appalling at the time which, since that time, has paid off more than two-thirds of that great war debt, and which, in the three years preceding 1893, paid off nearly $300,000,000 of it from the income of the treasury and its surplus, which from 1865 has en-

joyed a financial credit without a parallel in the world's history, to-day is without sufficient money from its own receipts to pay the ordinary expenses, and with a credit, upon the authority of the highest officers of the government, is threatened with impairment. We cannot longer close our eyes to the situation which affects every home and hearthstone and the government itself. We cannot afford to quarrel over the past; nor is it profitable to indulge in inquiries as to where the responsibility of the condition rests. It is enough for us to know it is here and upon us. Whatever differences we may have had, we must all agree now that the situation is one that requires the highest sagacity in statesmanship, and the broadest patriotism in citizenship. Let us, first of all, keep without stain and above suspicion the credit of our country, which is too sacred ever to be neglected. Let us provide somehow, and in some sensible, practical way, for the collection of enough money annually to pay all our current expenses, interest on the public debt, pensions to soldiers, and every other governmental obligation. Until that is done, if we have to borrow money, that should be done, and the sooner the better, but this will be only a temporary cure and provision. That must be supplemented by legislation that will raise in the taxes and tariffs a steady income, full and ample for every government need. The way to stop loans is to stop deficiencies. The reserve is sure to be drained if you cut off the supply. I agree with the President

that a 'predicament' confronts us, and I am sure there is wisdom and patriotism ample in the country to relieve ourselves from that 'predicament' or any other, and to place us once more at the head of the nations of the world in credit, production, and prosperity."

[AMERICAN ISRAELITE-JEWISH ORPHAN ASYLUM, JULY 15TH, 1893.]

EARLY EDUCATION AND THE JEWISH RACE.

"When we get out into the busy world with its duties and responsibilities we have little time for the acquisition of more than practical knowledge.

"It is so often a question of mere sustenance, with little time for earnest study, much less for mental labor. And if the opportunities present at an institution of this character are not improved they are lost to us forever. I enjoin upon you all to make the best use of the great opportunities you enjoy, and in after life you will find how much you have gained and how much embarrassment and blundering you will save yourself.

"The young men and young women who succeed nowadays must succeed because of superior knowledge. This is an age of exactness. What you know you must know well and thoroughly, and to reach prominence you must know it better than anybody else. It will not do to know a thing half any longer. You must know it all, and the man who knows a few things—worthy things, I mean, in science or art or

mechanics or business—better than those around him is the man who will succeed.

"And the only way to acquire knowledge is to labor. There is no substitute for it. The best time to get it is when you are young. Proxies are not recognized, either in the intellectual or business conflicts of the present day. To use a homely but expressive phrase, 'You must hoe your own row.'

"Don't try to master too many things. A few things of which you are thoroughly master give you better equipment for life's struggles than a whole arsenal of half-mastered and half-matured things. You belong to a great race and a great age, and you are citizens of the greatest country on the face of the earth. Every opportunity is open to you as it is to me, and to every citizen, as they have never been opened in any other quarter of the globe. Here is absolute equality of opportunity and of advantage, and those who can win must do so by force and their own merit; and here what you win you can wear.

The Jewish people have for centuries been conspicuous in almost every department of life. In music they have taken the highest rank as composers and performers. Mendelssohn, Rubenstein, and Joachim have few equals. As actors they had Rachael and Bernhardt and a long list beside, who have been recognized as stars the world over. Among the philosophers is to be named the great Spinoza; in medicine, Franke; in Greek literature, Bernays; while Benfrey was the first of Sanscrit

scholars; Ricardo, conspicuous in political economy, and Sir Moses Montefiore, the great philanthropist, who died full of honors, a century old, whose memory is cherished the world over. His intellectual and physical faculties were marvelous. He retained his mental faculties until the last. After he was eighty years old, in the interest of his race and humanity, he made four great journeys; two to Jerusalem, one to Roumania, and one to Russia. He was always doing good.

"I observe from your souvenir that here in this institution you sacredly observe his memory. He was broad-minded, not bigoted, loving his race and believing in it, and yet helping Gentile as well as Jew. He contributed to build Protestant churches and found hospitals for the Turk and the Catholic, and assisted in every way to the elevation of all races and all colors of men. George Eliot, writing a few years ago about the Jewish race, and, as indicating the rank they had already taken, said: 'At this moment the leader of the Liberal party in Germany is a Jew; the leader of the Republican party in France is a Jew, and the leader of the Conservative party in England is a Jew.' Our own country can furnish a long list of useful and conspicuous men of your race —merchants and bankers, philanthropists and patriots, physicians and lawyers, authors and orators and editors, teachers and preachers—all of them furnishing the young people of this Jewish orphan asylum worthy models to excite their ambition to become worthy successors.

THE CHARACTER AND TRAINING OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

[February 12th, 1895, at Albany, N. Y.]

"We meet to-night to do honor to one whose achievements have heightened human aspirations and broadened the field of opportunity to the races of men. While the party with which we stand, and for which he stood, can justly claim him, and without dispute can boast the distinction of being the first to honor and trust him, his fame has leaped the bounds of party and country, and now belongs to mankind and the ages.

"What were the traits of character which made him leader and master, without a rival, in the greatest crisis in our history? What gave him such mighty power? Lincoln had sublime faith in the people. He walked with and among them. He recognized the importance and power of enlightened public sentiment, and was guided by it. Even amid the vicissitudes of war he concealed little from the public review and inspection. In all he did he invited rather than evaded examination and criticism. He submitted his plans and purposes, as far as practicable, to public consideration with perfect frankness and sincerity. There was such homely simplicity in his character that it could not be hedged in by the pomp of place nor the ceremonials of high official station,

He was so accessible to the public that he seemed to take the whole people into his confidence.

"Here, perhaps, was one secret of his power. The people never lost their confidence in him, however much they unconsciously added to his personal discomfort and trials. His patience was almost superhuman. And who will say that he was mistaken in his treatment of the thousands who thronged continually about them? More than once, when reproached for permitting visitors to crowd upon him, he asked, with pained surprise, 'Why, what harm does this confidence in men do me?' Horace Greeley once said: 'I doubt whether man, woman, or child, white or black, bond or free, virtuous or vicious, ever accosted or reached forth a hand to Abraham Lincoln and detected in his countenance or manner any repugnance or shrinking from the proffered contact, any assumption of superiority or betrayal of disdain.' Bancroft, the historian, alluding to this characteristic, which was never so conspicuously manifested as during the darker hours of the war, beautifully illustrated it in these memorable words: 'As a child, in a dark night, on a rugged way, catches hold of the hand of its father for guidance and support, Lincoln clung fast to the hand of the people and moved calmly through the gloom.'

"His earliest public utterances were marked by this confidence. On March 9th, 1832, when announcing himself a candidate for Representative, he said that he felt it his duty to make known to the people

his sentiments upon the questions of the day. 'Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition,' he observed, 'and whether it be true or not I can say for one that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow men by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed. I am young and unknown to many of you. I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relatives or friends to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of the county. . . . But if the good people in their wisdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointment to be very much chagrined.'

"In this remarkable address, made when he was only twenty-three, the main elements of Lincoln's character and the qualities which made his great career possible are revealed with startling distinctness. We see therein 'that brave old wisdom of sincerity,' that oneness in feeling with the common people, and that supreme confidence in them which formed the foundation of his political faith.

"Among the statesmen of America Lincoln is the true democrat, and—Franklin, perhaps, excepted—the first great one. He had no illustrious ancestry, no inherited place or wealth, and none of the prestige, power, training, or culture which were assured to the gentry or landed classes of our own colonial

times. Nor did Lincoln believe that these classes—respectable and patriotic however they might be—should, as a matter of abstract right, have the controlling influence in our government. Instead, he believed in the all-pervading power of public opinion.

"Lincoln had little or no instruction in the common school; but, as the eminent Dr. Cuyler has said, he was graduated from 'the grand college of free labor, whose works were the flatboat, the farm, and the backwoods lawyer's office.' He had a broad comprehension of the central idea of popular government. The Declaration of Independence was his hand-book; time and again he expressed his belief in freedom and equality. On July 1st, 1854, he wrote: 'Most governments have been based, practically, on the denial of the equal rights of men. Ours began by affirming those rights. They said: 'Some men are too ignorant and vicious to share in government.' 'Possibly so,' said we, 'and by your system you would always keep them ignorant and vicious. We propose to give all a chance, and we expect the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant wiser, and all better and happier together.' We made the experiment, and the fruit is before us. Look at it, think of it. Look at it in its aggregate grandeur, extent of country, and numbers of population.'

"His antecedent life seems to have been one of unconscious preparation for the great responsibilities which were committed to him in 1860. Being one of the masses himself, living among them, sharing

their feelings, sympathizing with their daily trials, their hopes, and aspirations, he was better fitted to lead them than any other man of his age. He recognized more clearly than any one else that the plain people he met in his daily life and knew so familiarly were, according to our theory of government, its ultimate rulers and the arbiters of its destiny. He knew this, not as a theory, but from his personal experience.

"Born in poverty, so great that in America it is now almost impossible to find its like, and surrounded by obstacles on every hand seemingly insurmountable but for the intervening hand of Providence, Lincoln grew every year into greater and grander intellectual power and vigor. His life until he was twelve years old was spent either in a half-faced camp or cabin. Yet amid such surroundings the boy learned to read, write, and cipher, to think, declaim, and speak in a manner far beyond his years and time. All his days in the schoolhouse 'added together would not make a single year.' But every day of his life, from infancy to manhood, was a constant drill in the school of nature and experience.

"His study of books and newspapers was beyond that of any other person in his town or neighborhood, and perhaps of his county or section. He did not read many books, but he learned more from them than any other reader. It was strength of body as well as mind that made Lincoln's career possible. Ill success only spurred him into making

himself more worthy of trust and confidence. Nothing could daunt him. He might have but a single tow linen shirt, or only one pair of jeans pantaloons, he often did not know where his next dollar was to come from, but he mastered English grammar and composition, arithmetic, geometry, surveying, logic, and the law.

"How well he mastered the art of expression is shown by the incident of the Yale professor who heard his Cooper Institute speech and called on him at his hotel to inquire where he had learned his matchless power as a public speaker. The modest country lawyer was in turn surprised to be suspected of possessing unusual talents as an orator, and could only answer that his sole training had been in the school of experience.

"Eight years' service in the Illinois Legislature, two years in Congress, and nearly thirty years' political campaigning in the most exciting period of American politics gave scope for the development of his powers, and that tact, readiness, and self-reliance which were invaluable to a modest, backward man such as Lincoln naturally was. Added to these qualities he had the genius which communizes, which puts a man on a level, not only with the highest, but with the lowest of his kind. By dint of patient industry and by using wisely his limited opportunities he became the most popular orator, the best political manager, and the ablest leader of his party in Illinois.

HON. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.

HON. STEPHEN B. ELKINS.

"But the best training he had for the Presidency, after all, was his twenty-three years' arduous experience as a lawyer, traveling the circuit of the courts of his district and State. Here he met in forensic contests, and frequently defeated, some of the most powerful legal minds of the West. In the higher courts he won still greater distinction in the important cases committed to his charge.

"With this preparation it is not surprising that Lincoln entered upon the Presidency peculiarly well equipped for its vast responsibilities. His contemporaries, however, did not realize this. The leading statesmen of the country were not prepossessed in his favor. They appear to have had no conception of the remarkable powers latent beneath that uncouth and rugged exterior."

THE PANIC—MONEY—A CONVERT.

[East Liverpool, Ohio, October 17th, 1893.]

"In the midst of unexampled plenty, with no inflation of prices, for prices had never been so low; with no inflation of money, with every dollar in circulation as good as every other dollar, with no premium on gold, we are struck by business depression from ocean to ocean. What has occasioned this? Is it the money of the country? We have more money to-day than we ever had in all our history, and we have as good money as we ever had before. Every dollar is worth 100 cents and every dollar good

to pay all debts—private or public. We have everything we had last year but prosperity. We bartered that away for a change of administration. [Terrific trumpeting of tin horns.] If the President were here to-night he would not have to inquire whether we are making tin in the United States. [Laughter and renewed trumpeting.] These tin horns here tell the story, and I doubt not every one of them was made from American tin [applause], which two years ago they said we could not make in the United States. This year we have the same men, same money, same machinery, and the same markets that we had last year, but we have another management. We have the same enterprise, same energy, same magnificent manufacturing plants, but the people last year decided for a change of policy.

"The money of this country—and I speak to Democrats and Republicans alike—should be as fixed and unvarying as human ingenuity can make it. It measures everything you have to sell; the product of the farm, the merchandise in the store, the labor of your hands and the skill and genius of your brain, and if it is varying in value you never know what you may get for your products when you sell them. Therefore it is but right that you should oppose any and every attempt to resurrect the wildcat money of forty years ago. There is not one Southern State that is not in favor of State bank money. Do you know why? Because they still believe in State sovereignty. They don't

seem to realize that State sovereignty was shot to death twenty-five years ago. [Applause.] When wool buyers—they come as single buyers now—go around they pay free trade prices, because the Democratic party pledged themselves to make wool free, and they are in power in every branch of the Government. They have so declared in their national platform and they even passed free wool through the last House of Representatives, and it should to-day have been a law had it not been for a Republican Senate and a Republican President. The wool buyer remembers this when he is buying wool, and so he pays free trade prices. This is true of every branch of industry. It is true of every department of labor. But you have still the Protective Tariff they say. Yes, but you are pledged to repeal it, and the man who receives notice that his house is about to be demolished does not wait until the dynamite is put in, but moves out his furniture as soon as he can. Now what will start your factories? ["Hundred thousand majority for McKinley in November!"] What is lower tariff for? It is to make it easier for foreign goods to get in the United States, to increase competition from abroad.

"The people who voted for a change last fall are not satisfied, and the people who did not vote for a change are not satisfied. We find Democrats petitioning to have the tariff left undisturbed. There are a good many of them who have looked into it. ["Ikirt?"] Mr. Ikirt, my friend suggests. Your

own fellow-citizen and your Representative in Congress; he too has looked into the pottery industry since last election. He says in his statement that he has given consideration to it. Well, it is better to give it consideration after than not at all; but it is better always to consider before election if you can. He appears before the Ways and Means Committee and asks them not to disturb the tariff on pottery. I did not expect we would ever get so close—the Doctor and I. I remember he was my competitor for Congress once. He was then a free trader, and said protection was a fraud. There is nothing that has done my heart so much good as to find the Doctor down there appealing for the continuance of a tariff of sixty-five per cent. on pottery. It does my heart good to find him down there fighting for a tariff which I had put upon pottery myself. There is a sort of pathos about this statement of the Doctor's. After appealing for the pottery industry he says, 'To err is human, to forgive divine.' That is a quotation from his speech. I suppose from that that it was human for him to err last year, and we have forgiven him for the errors and we welcome him to us. The only thing left for the Doctor to do is to get leave of absence, come home on election day and vote for me for Governor, and I have no doubt he will, because my competitor believes in free trade and declares that a Protective Tariff is a fraud, while the Doctor is in favor of sixty-five per cent. of 'incidental' protection. I was one of those who helped

to make that tariff. I did not regard it as incidental nor accidental, I assure you. I helped to put it there to protect the potters of the United States and their labor, and it did it; and every Democrat in both branches of Congress voted against it—every one of them. Therefore I say it delights my heart to find the Doctor at last won over to the 'robber tariff' that cheats everybody, not only the consumer but the laborer, and is willing to take sixty-five per cent. for pottery. If for pottery, why not for iron and steel, wool, glass, cotton, and woolen goods?"

ADDRESS ON THE FIELD OF CHICKAMAUGA.

September 18th, 1895.

"The exhibition of high soldierly qualities displayed by both the blue and the gray will be on every tongue to-day. The battle will be fought over a thousand times in memory between those who lately contended angrily on this field. All that is well.

"But, after all, my countrymen, what was it all for? What did it mean? What was all this struggle, all this exhibition of heroism, and these appalling sacrifices for? A reunited country makes answer. No other is needed. A union, stronger and freer than ever before, a civilization, higher and nobler than ever before; a common flag, dearer and more glorious than ever before; and all, all of them secure from any quarter, because the contestants against each other on this historic field thirty-two years ago are now

united, linked in their might forever against any enemy which would assail either union or civilization or freedom or flag.

"The sacrifice here made was for what we loved, and for what we meant should endure. A reunited people, a reunited country, is the glorious reward.

"The war has been over thirty-one years. There never has been any trouble since between the men who fought on the one side or the other. The trouble has been between the men who fought on neither side—who could get on the one side or the other, as occasion or interest demanded. The bitterness and resentments of the war belong to the past, and its glories are the common heritage of us all. What was won in that great conflict belongs just as securely to those who lost as to those who triumphed. The future is in our common keeping, the sacred trust of all the people. Let us make it worthy of the glorious men who died for it on this and other fields of the war.

"It is gratifying to the State that these monuments are hereafter to be in the keeping of the United States Government. The government they preserved should guard them; that is where they belong. Henceforth these monuments shall be the precious possession of all the people. They show, Mr. President, the honor paid by a great commonwealth to the patriotic valor of her sons. They are calculated to encourage patriotic devotion for all time. They are the nation's guarantee that the bond of Union

shall not be broken. Their lesson is that the Constitution is and shall remain the supreme law over all.

"In this great battle some fought to save the Union, others to divide it. Those who fought to save triumphed, and so the Union survived. Slavery was abolished, peace restored, the Union strengthened, and now, hand in hand, all stand beneath the folds of one flag, acknowledging no other, marching forward together in the enjoyment of one common country and in the fulfillment of one glorious destiny."

McKINLEY AND OHIO'S ANTI-LYNCHING LAW.

[Governor McKinley's Message to the General Assembly of Ohio, January, 1896.]

"Within the last year there have been two attempts to lynch prisoners charged with crime who were under arrest and in custody of the officers of the law. In both cases the aid of the military was invoked by the Sheriffs of the counties; in both cases the law was upheld and the prisoners protected from the lynchers, but, unfortunately in both cases, only after the sacrifice of life. In the case in Seneca County two men were killed before the military had arrived. In the case in Fayette County the military were present, acting under the orders of the Sheriff. The protection of the prisoners in this case, to the deep regret of all concerned, resulted in the loss of a number of lives. The spirit which holds the laws

of the State and the authority of its chosen officers, acting within the law, in contempt, should not be permitted to triumph anywhere in Ohio. This State has boasted, and can justly boast, of the virtue and purity of its courts and the uprightness and fairness of its juries. The spirit of lynching is a reflection upon both courts and juries, and all the legally-constituted authorities of the counties and the State as well. If there be a crime so repulsive that the punishment inflicted by existing law is inadequate, let the present General Assembly, by law, promptly increase the penalty. I urge the General Assembly to use all the power at its command to frown upon and stamp out this spirit of lawlessness, which is a reproach upon the State and a shock to our civilization. Lynching must not be tolerated in Ohio."

HON. CHAS. EMORY SMITH
(Ex-Minister to Russia.)

HON. LEVI P. MORTON.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LESSONS OF HEROIC LIVES.

McKinley a patriot—Oration—Piety and patriotism—Lessons of heroism—Influences of Chautauqua—A fighting patriot—The grand review—A generous eulogy—Illustrious names.

THE oration before the Chautauqua Assembly, Grand Army Day, Monday, August 26th, 1895, is an example of the simplicity and elevation of McKinley on a patriotic theme—and is worthy of study for purity of style and force of expression.

"ORATION BEFORE THE CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY, ON GRAND ARMY DAY, MONDAY, AUGUST 26TH, 1895.

"Mr. President, Comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, Ladies and Gentlemen: It would have given me pleasure to meet this splendid Chautauqua Assembly at any time, but my gratification is the greater because I am invited to participate with you on the day which you have consecrated to country,

the day you have devoted to patriotism and the memories of the past, with all their precious lessons. What could be more fitting on the part of this association, whose chief objects are to exalt Christianity and promote sound learning, than to set apart a day to the brave men whose service and sacrifice preserved unimpaired the liberties we enjoy, for ourselves and posterity? Piety and patriotism have always been closely allied. My older hearers will recollect the fervent words, and recall with fond affection the matchless voice of dear old Bishop Simpson, who said in 1861: 'Nail the flag just below the cross! That is high enough—Christ and country, nothing can come between nor long prevail against them.' [Applause.]

"The lessons of heroism and sacrifice are not confined to any age or people, nor are they limited to the participants or the survivors, but are for all the people living, or who may come hereafter. Fortunately, in the economy of the Most High, the influence of any duty nobly done, or of courage or devotion in any good cause, is never lost. It strengthens with the ages, blessing and consecrating as the years recede, and inspiring others to suffer, and, if needs be, die for conscience and country. This was the spirit which animated the soldiers of the Revolution and the Rebellion, and distinguished both. They battled neither for commerce nor conquest, but for immortal principles, involving alike human rights and the highest welfare of the human race. What

was lost to America in the first great struggle was nobly regained in the last.

"These patriotic assemblages cannot, therefore, be too frequent, which invite a proper study of the past, not in hatred, passion, or bitterness, but to teach and enforce more plainly the blessings of peace, union, and fraternal love. They bring us closer together, as a reunited and happy people, guided by the example of the Master, whose life was one of sacrifice, and who is glorified as the Man of Peace and Son of God.

"It is easy to decry the events and institutions with which we are familiar, but, after all, we have many—very many—patriotic altars, and should have many more national celebrations. All along the pathway of our national life, from Lexington to Appomattox, we breathe the incense of heroism. We are not unmindful of the mighty deeds of the past, nor indifferent to the heroes who achieved them, nor can we be oblivious to the glories of the present, and the bright promise for the future. In a certain sense our churches and schools, our newspapers and literature, are constantly inspiring us with new and greater love of home and country. The work and influence of such great popular assemblages as this, not only here at Chautauqua, the fountain head of them all, but in other and distant States, are of priceless value to the people. [Applause.]

"You have builded wise and well. You have not only given to the world's vocabulary a new, beautiful,

and significant name, but to the world itself a new and holy zeal in the good cause of Christianity and scientific and literary study. You are to be congratulated that the religious, educational, and fraternal influences of Chautauqua are greater, far greater, than you know, and everywhere, at home and abroad, are beneficial and elevating to mankind. Liberty of thought, speech, and conscience hold full sway on these congenial grounds. Bigotry is neither encouraged nor tolerated, but, in the true spirit of the fathers, liberty and learning go hand-in-hand. In such an atmosphere American patriotism must burn with full flame, and as a light to the feet of all. [Applause.]

For what is patriotism? Did you ever stop to reflect upon what it embraces? There is born in every manly breast the determination to defend the thing he loves. We strike down the enemy who would invade our homes, and guard family and fireside at the peril of our lives. There is no sentiment so strong as love; no sacrifice too great for those we love. This is the underlying principle of genuine patriotism; the foundation of true loyalty to country. The patriot is he who, loving his country, is willing not only to fight, but, if need be, to die for it. It is this sentiment which gives to human governments their strength, security, and permanency. It is this sentiment which nerves the soldier to duty, and gains his consent to service and sacrifice. The strongest and best government is the one which rests upon the

reverent affection of its own people; and the nearer the government to the people, and the people to the government, the stronger becomes the sentiment of patriotism, and the stronger becomes the government itself. The laws are of little or no value if they do not have behind them the respect and love of the people. When patriotism is gone out of the hearts of the masses the country is nearing dissolution and death. [Applause.]

"Did you ever seriously reflect what it means to be a fighting patriot? Many people preach and profess patriotism, but the true patriot is he who practices it, and he can seldom practice it by proxy. Patriotism is the absolute consecration of self to country; it is the total abandonment of business; it is the turning away from plans which have been formed for a life's career. It is the surrendering of bright prospects, and the giving up of ambition in a chosen work. It is the sundering of the ties of home and family, almost the snapping of the heart-strings which bind us to those we love. It may mean disease contracted by exposure or from wounds in battle. It may mean imprisonment, insanity or death. It may mean hunger, thirst, and starvation.

"In our own Civil War it meant all of these. With all these hard conditions there were nearly three million men who so loved liberty and union that they were willing at any cost or hazard to follow our flag. The blood of a half million men was exacted

in that fearful conflict to save the country; and there are to-day tens of thousands who are suffering from disease contracted in the service of the government, and many thousands more bearing wounds from which they suffer every hour in the day, and some of these, alas! are in distressing poverty. Our asylums contain many more of the poor fellows whose hard service dethroned reason and unbalanced mind forever. The demands of patriotism meant for many wives widowhood, for many children orphanage. They took from many a mother her whole support, the love of the son, upon whose strong arm she had counted to lean in her declining years. There was nothing personally attractive or promising about any of the features of enlistment in the War of the Rebellion; it was business of the most serious sort. Every soldier took dreadful chances. His offering was nothing short of his own life's blood, if his country should require it. This, however, then seemed insignificant in that overmastering love of country, in that burning patriotism which filled the souls of the boys in blue, in that high and noble purpose which animated them all, that they were to save to themselves, to their families, and their fellow-countrymen the freest and best and purest government ever known, and to mankind the largest and best civilization in the world. [Applause.]

"With that spirit nearly three million men went forth to accept any sacrifice which cruel war might demand. The extent of that sacrifice far exceeded

human expectation, but it was offered freely on the altar of their beloved country. Can we ever cease to be debtors to these men? Is there any reward in reason they should not receive? Is there any emolument too great for them? Is there any benefaction too bountiful? Is there any obligation too lasting? Is there any honor to these patriotic men which a loving people can bestow that they should not extend? What the nation is, or may become, we owe largely to them.

"In the Grand Review, at the end of the war, which stands unchallenged as the greatest ever witnessed by human eyes, stretched across the great marble capitol at Washington, greeting the sight of every soldier who passed, was a banner bearing this inscription: 'There is one debt which this nation never can pay, and that is the debt it owes the brave men who saved this nation.' That was true then; it is no less true now.

"If there is one of those old patriots sick at heart and discouraged, should not the cheerful and the strong, who are to-day the beneficiaries of his valor, comfort and console him? If there is one who is sick or suffering from wounds, should not the best skill and the most tender nursing wait upon and attend him? Fortunately, our people have so far never failed in the most generous response to all such demands upon them.

"We are not a martial nation, but no government of the world can boast a more devoted, self-sacrificing,

or patriotic citizenship than that which has established and maintained our free institutions for the past one hundred and nineteen years. Nor are we a nation of hero worshipers, but the men who fought and suffered from the Revolution to the Rebellion for independence, freedom, and union, are devotedly cherished in memory by the American people. The soldiers of no other country in the world have been crowned with such immortal meed, or received at the hands of the people such substantial evidences of national regard. Other nations have decorated their great captains and knighted their illustrious commanders; monuments have been erected to perpetuate their names; permanent and triumphal arches have been raised to mark their graves. Nothing has been omitted to manifest and make immortal their valorous deeds.

"In the United States we not only honor our great captains and illustrious commanders—the men who led our vast armies to battle—but we shower honors in equal measure upon all, irrespective of rank in battle or condition at home. Our gratitude is of that grand patriotic character which recognizes no titles, permits no discrimination, subordinates all distinction; and the soldier or sailor, whether of the rank and file, the line or the staff, infantry, cavalry, or artillery, on land or sea, who fought and fell for liberty and union—indeed, all who served in the great cause—are warmly cherished in the hearts and

are sacred to the memories of a great and generous people. [Applause.]

"From the very commencement of the Civil War we recognized the elevated patriotism of the rank and file of the army, and their unselfish consecration to the country, while subsequent years have only served to increase our admiration for their splendid and heroic services. They enlisted in the army with no expectation of promotion—not for the paltry pittance of pay, not for fame or popular applause, for their services, however efficient, were not to be heralded abroad. They entered the army moved by the highest and purest motives of patriotism, that no harm might befall the republic. While detracting nothing from the fame of our matchless leaders, we know that without that great army of volunteers—the citizen soldiery—the brilliant achievements of the war would not have been possible. They, my countrymen, were the great power, the majestic and irresistible force. They stood behind the strategic commanders, whose intelligence and individual earnestness, guided by their genius, gained the imperishable victories of the war.

"I would not withhold the most generous eulogy from conspicuous soldiers, living or dead; from the leaders—Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Meade, Hancock, McClellan, Hooker, Howard, Logan, and Garfield—who flame out the very incarnation of soldierly valor and vigor before the eyes of the American people, who have an exalted rank in history,

and fill a great place in the hearts of their countrymen. We need not fear, my fellow-citizens, that the great captains will be forgotten. No retrospect of the war can be had, no history of the war can be written, which shall omit the name of the gallant Sheridan, who made the scene of Stonewall Jackson's stronghold in the Shenandoah Valley his field of glory; and no contemplation of the war can be had that shall pass unnoticed the name of the illustrious Hancock, whose brilliant achievements at Gettysburg and upon other noted fields covered him with fame. And no history of this war can be written which will omit the name of the glorious Sherman—that grand old soldier who delved into the mountains at Chattanooga and came out splendidly triumphant at the sea. No, we can never forget that majestic triumvirate, nor especially the great captain who commanded all the grand military divisions of the grandest army of the world—for Grant will be remembered forever. That silent, sturdy soldier, who closed his lips on the word 'victory' at the Wilderness and refused to speak, but fought it out on that line until the complete surrender at Appomattox, and who, while looking into his own open grave, summed up in history the matchless work of the Grand Army of the Republic wrought under his glorious leadership. [Applause.]

"Nor can any retrospect of the war be had which shall omit the names of the gallant naval officers who contributed such distinguished service to the Union

cause—Porter, Dahlgren, Goldsborough, Dupont, Foote, Ammen, Rowan; and,

"'While old Ocean's breast bears a white sail,
And God's soft stars at rest guide through the gale,
Men will ne'er thy name forget, O heart of oak,
Farragut, Farragut, thunderbolt's stroke.'"

CHAPTER IX.

McKINLEY AND MONEY.

Nominated for Governor—The sound money battle—A full dollar—Not willing to chance it—Two yard-sticks—Struggle against inflation—A high compliment—Opposed to unlimited coinage—Treasury Report.

IN 1889 James E. Campbell, in the Ohio Gubernatorial race, defeated Joseph B. Foraker, who, against his judgment, yielded to solicitations to run for a third term, and when Campbell's term was waning, he was nominated for re-election on a silver platform. There were some timid people of the Republican persuasion who thought it would be disastrous to nominate McKinley for Governor—he was so "extreme" and "high" a protectionist, and could not win in putting that before the people. McKinley was nominated, however, and then came the crisis of his career as a public man. He had become famous in Congress, and he had to be Governor or step aside.

What did he do—evade the money question? The Democrats had presented themselves as for free and unlimited coinage of silver. Did McKinley fail to meet that issue? On the contrary, he met it fairly

and squarely. His opening speech in this campaign of 1891 was at Niles, Ohio (his birthplace), August 22d, and he put the money question to the front, saying:

"The Democratic platform declares for the free and unlimited coinage of the silver of the world, to be coined, as freely as gold is now, upon the same terms and under the existing ratio. The platform of the Republican party stands in opposition to anything short of a full and complete dollar. The legislation of the last Congress is the strongest evidence which can be furnished of the purpose of the Republican party to maintain silver as money, and of its resolution to keep it in use as part of our circulating medium equal with gold. The law which the Republican party put upon the statute books declares the settled policy of the government to be 'to maintain the two metals upon a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.'

"The free and unlimited coinage of silver, demanded by the Democratic Convention recently held in Cleveland, amounts to this: That all the silver of the world, and from every quarter of the world, can be brought to the mints of the United States and coined at the expense of the government; that is, that the mints of the United States must receive 412½ grains of silver, which is now worth but 80 cents the world over, and coin therefor a silver dollar, which, by the fiat of the government, is to be received by the people

of the United States, and to circulate among them as worth a full dollar of 100 cents.

"The silver producer, whose 412½ grains of silver are worth only 80 cents or less in the markets of this country and the world, is thus enabled to demand that the government shall take it at 100 cents. Will the government be as kind to the producer of wheat, and pay him 20 cents more per bushel than the market price? The silver dollar now issued under a limited coinage has 80 cents of intrinsic value in it, so accredited the world over; and the other 20 cents is legislative will—the mere breath of Congress. That is, what the dollar lacks of value to make it a perfect dollar Congress supplies by public declaration, and holds the extra 20 cents in the Treasury for its protection. The government, buying the silver at its market value, takes to itself the profit between the market value of 412½ grains of silver and the face value of the silver dollar. Now it is proposed to remove the limit and to make the government coin, not for account of the Treasury, but for the benefit of the silver mine-owner.

"It does not take a wise man to see that, if a dollar worth only 80 cents intrinsically, coined without limit, is made a legal tender to the amount of its face value for the payment of all debts, public and private, a legal tender in all business transactions among the people, it will become in time the exclusive circulating medium of the country. Gold, which is 20 per cent. more valuable on every dollar, will

not be paid out in any transactions in this country when an 80-cent silver dollar will answer the purpose. Nor will the greenback be long in returning to the Treasury for redemption in gold. We shall do our business, therefore, with short dollars, rather than with full dollars, as we are now doing. The gold dollar will be taken from the circulating medium of the country and hoarded, and the effect will be that the circulating medium will not be increased, but reduced to the extent of the gold circulating, and we will be compelled to do the business of the country with a silver dollar exclusively—which, under present conditions, is confessedly the poorest—instead of doing our business with gold and silver and paper money, all equal and all alike good."

Governor McKinley quoted President Cleveland and the Hon. M. D. Harter, a Democratic Representative in Congress, and proceeded:

"My competitor (Governor Campbell) has said in his reported interviews that in sentiment, upon this subject, 'The Democrats of Ohio are very much divided; that the vote in the convention was a very close one.' This close vote only emphasizes the danger of the free coinage declaration in the minds of a large number of the Democrats in the State, but enjoins the importance and necessity of the friends of honest money standing together, as in all the contests of the past they have been forced to stand together for an honest currency. Governor Campbell declared in one of his interviews that, while he had

doubts about it, he was willing 'to chance free and unlimited coinage of silver.' I am not willing to 'chance' it. Under present conditions the country cannot afford to chance it. We cannot gamble with anything so sacred as money, which is the standard and measure of all values. I can imagine nothing which would be more disturbing to our credit and more deranging in our commercial and financial affairs than to make this the dumping ground of the world's silver. The silver producer might be benefited, but the silver user never. If there is to be any profit in the coinage of silver, it should go to the government. It has gone to the government ever since the Bland-Allison law went into effect. The new declaration would take it from the government and give it to the silver producer.

"Now, the people know that, if we had two yard-sticks, one three feet in length and the other two and a half feet in length, the buyer would always have his goods measured to him by the shorter stick, and that the longer stick would go into permanent disuse. It is exactly so with money."

Major McKinley proceeded to argue that the bondholders had been largely paid in 100-cent dollars, and that the pensioners should not be paid in depreciated dollars. He said of the struggle in 1867:

"When the attempt was made at that time by the leaders of the party that now stands in opposition to the Republican party to repudiate the debt to the

bondholder, or pay it off in depreciated currency, insisting that we never could pay it in full, the soldiers stood with the party which represents good faith to our creditors and the honorable payment of every obligation, and swept back the tide of inflation and repudiation. They said that the Union which they saved from force should have no stain upon its financial honor, but every debt it had contracted to preserve the Union should be paid in the best coin of the Republic, and every obligation should be sacredly kept and observed. They were willing to wait for their pensions until the great money obligation was discharged. The government credit was therefore sustained, and over two thousand millions of that great debt has been paid off, not in a clipped dollar, but in a full dollar. The positions are to-day reversed."

In concluding this branch of his subject, Major McKinley spoke for Ohio in these clear and unmistakable terms, that are as pertinent to-day as then:

"Ohio has never in the past given her vote for a debased currency, and she will not do so in the future. When the country was wild for inflation—in 1875—under pressure of hard times (and they were hard), the sober sense of the people of this State, without regard of party, stemmed that awful tide. The people of Ohio had more to do than any other State or constituency of the Union in keeping the nation upon the rock of honest finance and honest currency. Thousands of Democrats helped in that

great struggle—not through their own party organization, but by leaving their party and joining with the party which represented good faith and honest dealing with the public creditor. They can take no other course this year. And the people of Ohio will take no backward step."

In the campaign with Campbell there was a joint debate at Ada, October 8th, when the questions at issue had been thoroughly gone over, and McKinley, describing the issues, said he proposed to occupy his time with two of them—the question of silver (giving it the first place again, it will be noticed), and the other question was that of taxation.

This campaign is especially interesting in a study of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and in view of the prominence given the question of money standards. McKinley had been gerrymandered out of Congress by a Democratic Legislature, because he was the champion protectionist—one of the highest compliments he ever received. He was decorated with the particular displeasure of the Democracy, and, from their party point of view, deserved it. The people of Ohio took him up for enlarged public service, and the Democratic party adopted a free-silver coinage platform. The greater distinction of McKinley was as a protectionist, but he met the silver issue forced by the action of the Democratic party aggressively. At his opening and birthplace speech in this most critical time of his fortunes, he was prompt, thorough, and emphatic in his treat-

ment of money questions, and his remarks cannot be read by one who understands the history and science of money without admiration for the evidence that McKinley has mastered the subject. He employs the right word every time to express his exact meaning, and this precision of phrase is rare in the discussions of the standards. Announcing the matters that were at issue between himself and Governor Campbell, McKinley said there were two prominent points, and "the one relates to the standard with which we shall measure our exchanges and our labor with each other and with the rest of the world, and the other relates to the subject and the method of taxation, by which we shall raise the needed revenues for public purposes.

"The Republicans stood," the Major said, putting the actual money question in one plain sentence, "for a dollar worth one hundred cents," and he added:

"You can buy to-day 371¼ grains of pure silver, which constitutes the silver dollar; you can buy it in the markets of the world to-day for 76 cents. Free and unlimited coinage invites the silver producers of the world to bring their 76 cents' worth of silver to the mints of the United States, the government agreeing to coin that silver into a silver dollar, and by its fiat compels people to take it for 100 cents, and the difference between 76 cents, which is the price of silver to-day, and 100 cents, which is the face value of the silver dollar, goes into the pockets

of the silver kings of the world; and if we had had free and unlimited coinage in the last twelve years the $67,000,000, which was the seigniorage or gain to the government, would have been divided among the silver producers of this country and the silver producers of the world. When we sell our labor or our crops, we want to get for it a money that is as good as the thing we gave for that money, and we want the thing we get to be unvarying in value—not only good to-day, but good every day of every week of every year; not only good in the United States, but good where every trade goes. In a word, we want no short dollar, we want no short weight, we want no short measure. When the farmer sells his bushel of wheat he is required to give a full bushel in measure; when he gets his pay he is entitled to have a full dollar in value."

But it is said Governor McKinley once thought well of the "double standard." Well, he and Governor Campbell threshed that over together in their debate, and this is what McKinley said directly upon that subject:

"In 1877 I voted to reinstate the ancient silver dollar a part of the coinage of the United States. Silver had been stricken from our coinage in 1873—stricken by both political parties, the one just as responsible as the other—and in 1878, being in favor of both gold and silver as money, to be kept at parity one with the other, I voted for the restoration of the silver dollar. When I did it we had but 8,000,000

silver dollars in circulation. When I did it silver was more valuable than it is to-day. We have 405,000,000 silver dollars to-day, and that is as much as we can maintain at par with gold with the price of silver that prevails throughout the world. I took every occasion to reinstate silver to its ancient place in our monetary system, because I wanted both metals. I am opposed to free and unlimited coinage, because it means that we will be put upon a silver basis, and do business with silver alone, instead of with gold, silver, and paper money, with which we do the business of the country to-day—every one of them as good as gold.

"I want to tell the workingmen here and the farmers that it takes just as many blows of the hammer, it takes just as many strokes of the pick, it takes just as much digging, just as much sowing, and just as much reaping to get a short dollar as it does to get a full dollar.

"A one hundred-cent dollar will go out of circulation alongside an eighty-cent dollar, which is a legal tender by the fiat of the government. And no class of people will suffer so much as the wage-earner and the agriculturist. If it is the farmer you would benefit, there is one way to do it. Make the bushel measure with which he measures his wheat for the buyer three pecks instead of four, and require the buyer to pay as much for three pecks as he now pays for four. No man knows what the future may be, but in our present condition, and with our present light every consideration of safety requires

us to hold our present status until the other great nations shall agree to an international ratio."

There is no sounder, simpler, more wholesome doctrine offered this day by any professional sound money man than this. More than that, there is no public man who speaks from higher intelligence on this subject. But they say Major McKinley was in favor of the double standard, and we see those words in large type and displayed as if they were criminal. What he meant by the double standard he explained in this luminous passage:

"I am not in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver in the United States until the nations of the world shall join us in guaranteeing to silver a status which their laws now accord to gold. The double standard implies equality at a ratio, and that equality can only be established by the concurrent law of the nations. It was the concurrent law of nations that made the double standard; it will require the concurrent law to reinstate and sustain it. Until then for us to decree free and unlimited coinage of the world's silver would be to ordain that our silver dollars must surely depreciate and gold inevitably go to premium."

It has been much mentioned, and McKinley speaks of it freely, that he voted to reinstate the ancient silver dollar—and was for it until we had demonstrated by coining four hundred millions and more, that this nation could not alone, and in opposition to the great moneyed nations, reinstate silver. Many

have denounced this action who should know that if it had not been for the coinage of silver by the hundred millions, and the policy of the parity of the precious metals insisted upon by the Republicans, the silver flood would have broken over all bounds and we should have been on the silver basis long ago. It was the very policy McKinley stood for that prevented our money from being Mexicanized. It was right and true and strong then, and right and true and strong now.

The Treasury report for May gives the following figures of cash in the Treasury of the United States:

Gold—		
Coin	$118,644,283 02	
Bars	32,662,859 89	
		$151,307,142 91
Silver—		
Dollars	$376,572,499 00	
Subsidiary Coin	15,637,424 37	
Bars	119,989,914 36	
		$512,199,837 73

This would seem to show that there is a good deal of bimetallism in our country. Of the full legal tender "demonetized" silver dollars we have on hand 376,644,283, forty-seven times the amount of dollars coined under the free silver system in the eighty years that it prevailed. That is the way this precious metal has been refused its right, and robbery of the people ensued. The silver storm still rages, notwithstanding this demonstration that one nation cannot restore silver except at an expense that would be ruinous. It is clear, however, to the calm and impartial student of our history, that with-

out this effort to reinstate silver when it stood almost at a parity in the markets at the old ratio with gold, the constant decline of the price of the white metal would have been charged to the omission of the dollar from the coinage orders—and all financial troubles charged to the decline, and all the misfortunes of the people traced to the same source—and the result would have been the overwhelming election of a free silver President and Congress, and we would have been Mexicanized as to money.

If McKinley did make the mistake in his friendliness to silver of overvaluing it, he repeated an error of Alexander Hamilton, who fixed the original ratio in our coinage at 15 to 1. We have heard of the crime of the century in the demonetization of silver. Well, the man who first committed it was Thomas Jefferson, and here is the record:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, May 6, 1806.

"To ROBERT PATTERSON, ESQ., Director of the Mint.

"*Sir:* In consequence of a representation from the Director of the Bank of the United States that considerable purchases have been made of dollars coined at the mint for the purpose of exporting them, and as it is probable that further purchases and exportations will be made, the President directs that the silver coined at the mint shall be of small denominations, so that the value of the largest pieces shall not exceed half a dollar. I am, etc.,

"JAMES MADISON."

This was issued by President Jefferson. The coinage of dollars was stopped on this order for thirty years. Many writers do not seem to have noticed this, to give it full weight and consideration. Silver was exported because it was the best money.

There was great difficulty also in keeping our gold coin in use, and Thomas H. Benton said on the floor of the Senate in 1834:

"The valuation put upon gold has rendered the mint of the United States, so far as the gold coinage is concerned, a most ridiculous and absurd institution. It has coined, and that at a large expense to the United States, 2,262,177 pieces of gold, worth $11,852,890, and where are the pieces now? Not one of them to be seen! All sold and exported! And so regular is the operation that the Director of the Mint, in his latest report to Congress, says that the new-coined gold frequently remains in the mint uncalled for, though ready for delivery, until the day arrives for a packet to sail for Europe. He calculates that two millions of native gold will be coined annually hereafter, the whole of which, without a reform of the gold standard, will be conducted, like exiles, from the national mint to the seashore and transported to foreign regions."

This was followed by the law that reduced the quantity of gold 1½ grains to the dollar. It will be observed that we had about as much trouble with gold as with silver coin.

CHAPTER X.

THE MONEY STANDARD QUESTIONS.

How the Money Standard Questions have been settled in and by the Republican party—Silver legislation in brief—How the country was saved from the silver standard—John Sherman and William McKinley have marched together—The Hon. Charles Emory Smith's exposition of this question—The unexampled supply of gold is solving the money questions for the people and abolishing this issue.

THE money questions have been settled by the Republican party, and the standard of sound money is like the flag of the country, established, and the credit of the nation fixed. There was no compromise in the peace of Appomattox and there has been none in the resumption of specie payments which marked the restoration of the public solvency. Republican policy has provided a national currency of paper, silver, and gold, equal in volume to the wants of the people, and all good as gold. There was a powerful movement at the close of the war to enlarge the greenback issues and extend the limit of paper of that character to cover all the bonded obligations of the government, but the greenback was made as good as gold, and then the

stress of the passionate green paper illusion passed away.

The silver question took form when the country, under strong and wise guidance, approached resumption. It was then ascertained that we had participated so far in an international plan to employ the money of resumption and secure the advantage of uniformity in coin to facilitate the intercourse of nations, as to omit from the mint regulations the coinage of the silver dollar—our only white metal coin of full legal tender value—and there was a formidable tendency to retain the standing of silver in the mints without limitation. Silver had been "coin," in the meaning of the laws and contracts, through the war, and when the bonds were issued—especially when specie payments had been suspended—and there was an impressive propriety that "gold and silver" should be "coin," when we resumed coin payments, the same as when they were suspended. There was but little variation then between the mint and market value of the two precious metals at their old familiar ratio of 15½ to 1 in Europe and 16 to 1 in the United States, and the matter did not seem to be momentous. The fall of silver had set in, caused by the sale of silver in Germany, to establish the gold standard, and the enormous silver production in Nevada. The general judgment—at least of those who had not been profound students or business experts in money—was that if we replaced silver at the mints the value of the metal in the

markets would advance to our ratio. This view of the case was at first taken by Major McKinley, but he supported the Allison amendment of the Bland bill, which was not to have "free" coinage of silver dollars, but forced—commanded—coinage, not less than two or more than four millions per month. Unquestionably this movement, originating with Mr. Allison in the Senate and supported by Mr. McKinley in the House, saved the country from the free coinage of silver, and, therefore, the silver standard! John Sherman was Secretary of the Treasury, and coined the minimum sum—two millions a month. He advised against the veto of the measure by President Hayes, suggesting that he should allow the bill to become a law without his approval, as he had conscientious scruples against attaching his signature. The bill was passed over the President's veto, and the continued fall of silver—while we coined over four hundred millions of white dollars—was an object lesson most convincing that the United States could not alone restore silver as a standard money of the world.

We reached the point that it was necessary to stop the free coinage of silver or accept the silver standard, and we stopped, pledging ourselves to maintain the parity of the two money metals, and there we are now, and, like France, the great bimetallic country, we uphold silver as a money metal by the limitation of the coinage and the direct application of the public credit.

Major McKinley has stood with Secretary and Senator John Sherman with unfaltering courage and unshaken fidelity throughout this contest, and was conspicuous in it for his perfect understanding of the general situation, his intelligence as to the principles involved and applied, and his exact information in details. There is no better record for honest dealing with all the people on all the questions of sound money, first and last, than his.

One of the most frank, instructive, and luminous discussions of the silver question has been supplied by the Hon. Charles Emory Smith, of Philadelphia, and is as follows:

WHAT IS FREE COINAGE?

BY HON. CHARLES EMORY SMITH.

We meet again the demand for independent, free, and unlimited coinage without regard to other nations. To this demand I now address myself. What is free coinage? The standard silver dollar is now worth about fifty cents. Free coinage means that the government shall receive all the silver which may be presented, and upon every fifty cents' worth put the stamp of one dollar. As nobody, however, expects it to be coined, it really means that the government shall issue its note for one dollar in exchange for fifty cents' worth of bullion, and that this note which the favored bullion owner gets for fifty cents' worth of his commodity shall be made a legal tender for one

dollar in current circulation. Now, what would be the result? It would be a forced circulation of a dollar worth one half its face. It would be the debasement of the unit of value, and so the violent disturbance of all values. It would be the destruction of stability, and so the overthrow of confidence, security, and prosperity.

Let me be entirely frank. I know the advocates of free coinage claim that their measure would raise silver to the standard of gold, or perhaps they would prefer to put it, reduce gold to the standard of silver —that, in a word, it would establish parity. They point to the fact that the silver or silver certificates already in circulation have been kept at par at the ratio of 16 to 1, notwithstanding a far different market ratio. This is true, because we have limited the coinage or purchase, because we have maintained the gold reserve, because we have pledged the whole credit and power of the government to sustain parity. But when we enter upon unlimited coinage, under present conditions, we embark upon a new and dangerous sea. The free silver champions contend that our silver policy has failed, because we haven't gone far enough, and they insist that free coinage would bridge the divergence and remove the disparity of the two metals. There is no other pretense upon which it can be defended for a single instant. If it does not establish the equivalence of gold and silver at the determined ratio it is rank repudiation and dishonor. It is the willful adoption of the debased standard

and the compulsory circulation of a depreciated dollar, with its robbery of labor, its unsettlement of all values, its derangement of all finance and trade, and its incalculable wrong and dangers in every direction.

But what possible hope can there be, in the light of the facts already before us, that free coinage will re-establish parity? It was claimed just as confidently that the Purchase Act of 1890 would do it. What was the fact? Its first temporary effect was to raise silver so that the bullion value of a dollar which was 74 cents in 1890 advanced for a short time to 84 cents; but it soon dropped back to 72 cents, and has been falling ever since. We were then buying pretty nearly the entire silver product of this country. It must be remembered, too, that India, the great sink of silver in the East, was still under free coinage. While we were coining or purchasing nearly $600,000,000 of silver India was coining over $600,000,000, and during all this time, and in spite of this great market, silver kept on falling. India has since stopped her free coinage, and how, then, can we hope to do alone what the two together could not do?

Do you realize what free coinage by the United States alone involves? It involves one of two things —either the lifting up of the entire volume of silver in the world to the standard of gold, or else the dragging down of the United States to the single standard of silver. There is no possible escape from

one horn or the other of this dilemma. The visible stock of silver in the world is about $4,000,000,000. Europe has over $1,000,000,000. The product of the United States in 1893 was 60,000,000 ounces. The annual product of the world has grown from an average of 40,000,000 ounces, between 1860 and 1870, to an aggregate of 160,000,000 ounces. For the United States alone to enter upon free coinage means that we must stand ready to buy all of this vast stock that may be attracted by our open hand and open mint, and that, while it is now at a ratio of 32 to 1, we must undertake the stupendous and impossible task of lifting it to equivalence with gold at the ratio of 16 to 1. It means not only that we shall stimulate and inflate our own product, but that Europe will dump its surplus silver on us. I know the silver extremists deny this truth. I know they allege that the silver of Europe is in use as coin and that it could not be sent here without a loss. But this answer will not bear examination, as a moment's consideration will show.

Ever since bimetallism was abandoned Europe has been struggling for gold. With the adoption of independent free coinage in this country that struggle would gain new force, because it would be notice that the re-establishment of bimetallism had been indefinitely postponed. The Bank of France has $250,000,000 of silver, not in circulation, but locked up in its vaults. The Bank of Germany has over $150,000,000. The Bank of Spain has about $50,-

000,000, the Bank of the Netherlands $35,000,000, and others varying amounts. There are over $450,000,000 stored in nine banking houses. This silver is worth nothing to them beyond its bullion value. It serves as a part of the metallic reserve for their paper money; but they could better sustain more paper on gold, and if they could make the substitution by sending this silver to the United States and exchanging it for gold, why wouldn't they do it? Let me give you commanding authority. Henry Cernuschi is the ablest champion in Europe of the restoration of silver and the recognized leader of the bimetallists. In his pamphlet on "The Great Metallic Powers" he says: "As soon as the coinage of silver by the United States was free, Europe would act toward the United States just as Germany acted toward France, so long as France coined silver. Europe would demonetize large masses of silver and send them to Philadelphia to get them made into dollars, with which dollars she would get gold dollars despatched to her." And again: "Why is not the coinage of silver free in France? Because, were the coinage free, all the gold would emigrate, and France, deprived of gold, would no longer have a monetary medium, either with England, or with Germany, or with the United States. Very venturesome would be those who should recommend the United States of America to undertake single-handed what France will undertake only triple-handed." Wise

counsel and admonition from the greatest of the friends of silver!

Let me add another impressive warning. And in order to make it specific will you pardon a personal allusion, and a statement which I have never publicly made before, and in making which at the present time I hope I am not altogether indiscreet. In 1890 when the bill for the free coinage of silver was pending in the United States Senate, I had the honor of being the American Minister at St. Petersburg. The Russian Minister of Finance was Mr. Vishnegradski, who died a few days since—a statesman of extraordinary capacity, and perhaps the ablest Finance Minister in Europe at the time. I had occasion one day to call upon him, and I found him with a copy of the American free coinage silver bill, then under debate in the Senate, lying open on the table before him. His first expressions revealed his profound interest in the subject. He had studied the details of the bill to the minutest particular. He did not hesitate to pronounce it a most remarkable measure, involving a most disastrous policy, which, as a friend of the United States and of safe finance, he hoped she would not undertake. He inquired carefully after its prospects, and then in earnest words came the pregnant climax, which, as others were involved, I shall not in this public declaration venture to repeat in as specific a form as he gave it in that more confidential talk. But he said in substance: "If this bill becomes a law the United States will expose herself

to dangers of which she has perhaps little idea; there is a great deal of silver in Europe; we have some in Russia; already the proposition has been made to me to join in a movement, in the event of the American adoption of free coinage, to unload a part of Europe's silver on the United States; but I believe this measure and this action would bring calamity, and I hope the United States will make no such mistake." It was the clear vision and the weighty remonstrance of a statesman looking on with the truer perspective of distance, and speaking with direct personal knowledge of dangers which the silver extremists profess to scout and deride.

With free coinage the surplus silver of the world would flow toward our shores as infallibly as the dropping apple seeks the ground. It would flow here because this would be its one great market at a price not offered anywhere else. Realizing the danger of this deluge, some of the silver radicals have proposed to limit free coinage to the American product. But none of the free coinage bills has ever embraced that limitation. And if you tried it how could you do it? With a temporary artificial and exaggerated price here, how could you prevent foreign silver from finding its way across our borders, as it has done in the past? Besides, suppose it were possible to succeed in such a restriction, that would not be free coinage at all. It would not lift silver in the markets of the world; it would not remove the disparity between the two metals; it would not, there-

fore, carry the only condition upon which free coinage could possibly be justified; it would simply enable anybody who has fifty cents' worth of silver bullion to take it to the mint and have it stamped one hundred cents, or take it to the Treasury, which would issue its note for it and force you and me to receive it for a dollar. Are the American people ready for that amazing folly?

Free coinage, I repeat, means that we must be prepared to buy the silver of the world. What would be the effect? Gold coinage would immediately stop. Who would bring gold to be coined when it was undervalued one half? We should pay for the great influx of domestic and foreign silver in notes redeemable in coin. The notes would be presented and gold demanded. If gold were paid by the Treasury, how long under this great demand would the reserve last? If gold were refused we should be instantly on the silver basis, and the Treasury notes and the whole circulation of the United States would fall to the silver level. Under such conditions gold and silver would not circulate side by side. Gold would go to a premium. Every dollar would be locked up or exported. The government, stripped of its gold, would be forced to pay its creditors in silver, and that payment would reduce us at once to the silver standard. There is thus, under free coinage, no escape from one of the two alternatives, either that we must by our action alone raise the silver of the world to the gold standard, which is mani-

festly impossible, or we must drop to the silver standard.

This, then, being clear, we come to the next question, What does the silver standard mean and what would be its effect? This question involves such broad considerations and such tremendous consequences that time will permit me to touch on only a few of them. The silver dollar is now intrinsically worth fifty cents. It passes for a dollar because, by limited coinage and full exchangeability, the government has kept it at par with gold. Under free coinage it would be worth whatever the world should rate the silver in it as worth. It might be fifty cents; it might be more; it might be less. It would follow all the fluctuations of a varying commodity, going up with the demand and going down after the deluge. It would still be called a dollar, but only because the real dollar unit of value had been expelled; and it would be a dollar in fact just as much as if we were to lock up all the present yard-sticks and were to make a new unit of length consisting of a foot and a half, and were to assume that calling it a yard would make it a yard. If it takes ten yards of cloth now to make a robe, ten yards under the new unit would leave the costume decidedly decollete! Wage-earners might receive as many nominal dollars as before, but the purchasing power of the dollar would measurably be cut in two. The Mexican dollar contains more silver than the American dollar; yet the American silver dollar will buy twice as

much in Mexico as the Mexican silver dollar. The American silver dollar is quoted in London at 100 cents and the Mexican silver dollar at about 50 cents. Why? Because Mexico has free silver coinage and we have not; because Mexico is on the silver basis and we are not. But the free coinage advocates would put us there, and so put our dollar down to the level of the Mexican dollar.

The serious menace of such a change would bring on a great financial convulsion, and its accomplishment would involve a complete economic revolution. It was the apprehension of going to the silver standard that largely caused the monetary panic of 1893, and any real impending danger of such a catastrophe would produce a financial cataclysm that is appalling to contemplate. It would excite alarm at home and abroad; it would tumble our American securities back upon us; it would dry up the springs of credit, restrict loans, paralyze enterprise, cripple trade and industry, halt investments, and repeat on a larger scale the bitter experience of that disastrous crisis of two summers ago. Even if the silver standard presented the advantages which some extremists profess to think, the pathway to it would be strewn with too many wrecks and darkened with too much sorrow and sadness to be prudently undertaken.

But suppose, running these risks and making these sacrifices, we had plunged to the silver standard, what then? Practical object lessons are more vivid and convincing than theoretical discussions. Let us

take a few object lessons. The amount of deposits in the savings banks of the United States is $1,747,961,280, and the number of depositors 4,777,687. The average to each depositor is $365.86. The silver standard means that on an average every one of these nearly five million people deposited $365, each dollar worth 100 cents in gold, and would draw out $365 in silver, each worth 50 cents. The savings of the working people of Pennsylvania go largely into building and loan associations. Nevertheless, there are in this State 248,244 saving bank depositors, with an aggregate deposit of $66,025,821, and an average individual deposit of $265.97. The silver standard means that every one of these 248,244 Pennsylvanians put in 265 hard-earned 100-cent dollars, and would draw out 265 50-cent dollars.

Pennsylvania has 1,239 building associations, with assets amounting to $103,943,364, and a total membership of 272,580. All of these members are, in their organized capacity, lenders, and each is in turn a borrower. Each is a capitalist, and belongs to the much-denounced "creditor class" to the extent of $381. These associations received last year $43,432,686, and divided $12,933,970. The whole system depends on the value of the assets in the shape of mortgages, and collapses unless that is sustained. On the silver basis these 272,580 persons, all wage-earners, would find their $103,943,364 cut in two, and the only persons who would get any compensation would be the fraction of borrowers at that

particular time. Take another illustration. The aggregate pension disbursements last year were $140,772,163.78, and the number of pensioners 969,544, of whom 754,382 are the gallant invalid veteran defenders of their country, and 215,162 are the widows or orphans of Union soldiers. The payment to each pensioner thus averaged $144. The number of pensioners on the roll of the pension office at Philadelphia is 57,749, and at Pittsburg 45,774, a total of 103,523—nearly a ninth of the whole number in the Union. Under the silver standard the $144 going on an average to each of these nearly million pensioners would be 50-cent dollars, worth 72 real dollars.

Take still another and impressive illustration. On January 1st, 1894, the life insurance policies in this country numbered 7,505,817, representing insurance of $5,291,824,900, and assets of $919,310,131. Considering wealth and population together, at least an eighth of this insurance is held in Pennsylvania, or say 1,000,000 policies—sometimes more than one for the same person—representing $650,000,000 of insurance and $120,000,000 of assets. The average amount of a policy is $700, and so the great mass of policy-holders are persons of moderate means. The security for the payment of this vast insurance is two-fold: first, existing assets, either mortgages or shares and bonds, and their value or income would be cut in two by going to the silver basis; second, fixed annual premium payments, and their purchas-

ing power in investments would be halved, since the amount was fixed on the gold basis and would be paid on the silver basis. On life insurance assets 75 per cent. are mortgages or shares and bonds, and this colossal contract for the future, involving in Pennsylvania alone nearly 1,000,000 policies and $650,000,000 of insurance, would, by the silver standard, be depreciated one-half in value.

There is yet another and momentous danger. The amount of American securities owned abroad is generally placed at about $2,000,000,000. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1893 of the volume of British investments outside of the United Kingdom Mr. Gladstone said: "One thousand million pounds would probably be an extremely low and inadequate estimate. Two thousand millions—that is, in round numbers, ten thousand million dollars—or something even more than that, is very likely to be nearer the mark." Burdett's Official Intelligencer for 1894 places the aggregate of foreign securities held by British investors, based on the income tax returns, at $3,819,035,000. The United States has one-half the railroads and telegraphs of the world, and it has a fifth of the British foreign trade. It is, therefore, a reasonable presumption that some fraction between a fifth and a half of the British foreign holdings are American—some figure between $800,000,000 and $1,900,000,000. Add other European holdings and the aggregate will reach $2,000,000,000 or over, on which from $60,000,000 to

$100,000,000 are annually paid in dividends and interest. This amount is now paid in dollars, worth in London 100 cents. On the silver basis it would be paid in dollars, worth in London 50 cents. Under such circumstances, how long would it be before these securities would be precipitated upon our market with all the consequences of such a movement?

The stock of the Pennsylvania Railroad aggregates $129,289,000. Of this amount forty-six per cent., or about $60,000,000, is held abroad. Imagine the effect of having even a half of this vast proportion or a quarter of all the shares of the Pennsylvania thrown on the market! This would be inevitable unless the dividends were paid in gold, and to do that would require either doubling the amount set apart or halving the dividends. Not a few bonds are made specifically payable in gold. In every such case it would take just as much money to pay the premium on gold as would be available for the dividend or interest. The effect on all railroads may be shown by a single illustration. The Illinois Central pays five per cent. dividends. This takes $2,500,000. Last year the road had $2,963,275 available, leaving a surplus of $463,275. Of the stock about forty per cent. is held abroad. To pay the foreign stockholders requires $1,000,000. If they are paid in gold $2,000,000 would be required, and so the whole dividend must be cut down. If they are paid in silver the value abroad will be cut in two and the

foreign holder will sell. How can such a situation fail to bring a crash?

These are a few illustrations of what isolated free coinage and the silver standard involve. But it is claimed that if we were on the silver basis we should enjoy great advantages in foreign commerce and command the trade of the silver countries. We should, indeed, put ourselves financially upon the level of Mexico, and China, and India, but with what result? The imports of the gold standard countries amount to over $8,000,000,000 a year, and those of the silver standard countries to less than $1,000,000,000. The exports of the gold standard countries reach annually $7,000,000,000, and those of the silver standard countries only $1,000,000,000. Why should we abandon the advantages of the former in a struggle for the latter?

During the last fiscal year our exports to Europe amounted to $690,000,000, and our imports to $274,600,000. Here was a balance in our favor of $415,000,000, which was paid or credited to us in gold value. During the same time our exports to the silver countries amounted to $42,000,000 and our imports to $170,000,000. Here was a balance against us of $128,000,000. We should continue to pay this sum in silver, or its equivalent, as we do now; but why should we be so idiotic as to put ourselves on the silver basis in order that Europe may pay us $415,000,000 a year in silver values instead of gold values? Why should we upset our

monetary medium with the great commercial nations, and subject our commerce to the incalculable tax and burden and depression of a constantly uncertain and fluctuating exchange?

We hear men talk loosely of the debtor class and the creditor class, and flippantly reason that so-called "cheap money" would help debtors at the expense of creditors. Who are the debtors and who are the creditors? The creditors are every depositor in a savings bank, every member of a Building Association, every pensioner, every holder of an insurance policy, every workingman who has saved anything out of his earnings and put it into institutions or investments, dependent upon public security and honesty. Borrowing requires credit. It is the well-off, not the poor, who borrow most. The borrowers will be found more on the stock-market than on the farm or in the workshop. If a man seeks loans for legitimate enterprise or needed development, he is most interested in maintaining the public credit and confidence, which makes easy terms and low rates. What he wants is not cheap money, but cheap loans. Repudiation is most costly to borrowers. It multiplies the risks and hardens the conditions. Depreciate the unit of value and you cheat every member of the industrial classes. The great body of workingmen would be the worst sufferers. Prices on a silver basis would advance, because they would be paid in debased money, but the last thing to rise would be the wages of labor,

and the sons of toil, to whom the false appeal is most cunningly made, should be the most determined to resist and reject it.

The depreciated currency, which is called "cheap money," but which, in reality, is the dearest, is the most insidious and deadly of all public perils. It deceives and deludes the unwary. It comes in attractive guise. It is, as has been said, like the cub of the lioness, described by the Greek poet, which was rashly taken by the hunter into his house. When it was young it was fondled by the children; but when it grew and felt its strength it deluged the house with blood. There are those who unthinkingly fondle this young financial folly; but let it develop, and it will fill the country with sorrow and ruin. The dangers of the silver delusion are so clear that some of the extremists recoil from the abyss. They tell us they have not advocated independent free coinage. I do not wonder that they shrink from their own conclusion. But their record confronts them. They have voted for free coinage. They have sustained and upheld those who voted for it. They have denounced those who did not accept it. Their argument means free silver coinage, or it means nothing. If they renounce the conclusion let them renounce the contention.

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM.

What, then, is the true remedy? To find the remedy we must find the cause. The free coinage

extremists mistake the one, and so misapply the other. They begin wrong, argue wrong, and end wrong. They charge the fall of silver to the Act of 1873, which is said to have demonetized it, and they say it has not been restored to its position because we have not done enough for it. But the Act of 1873 had no more to do with the fall of silver than the last eclipse of the moon. We hadn't any silver to demonetize. We had coined only 8,000,000 silver dollars from the foundation of the government, and for a quarter of a century before 1873 there hadn't been a dollar in circulation. As to our subsequent treatment of silver, I have shown that since 1873 we have done seventy-two times as much for the silver dollar as we did in all our previous history, and in spite of this silver kept on falling.

What has caused the great monetary dislocation of the past twenty years? It was not the demonetization of silver in the United States, but the overthrow of bimetallism in Europe. We had practically no silver coinage, and our act had no effect. Europe had $1,000,000,000 of silver coinage, and her proscription of silver and the stoppage of her demand brought the derangement. For nearly two hundred years gold and silver had maintained a practically steady ratio. The production of the two metals had fluctuated in the most remarkable degree. During the first forty-five years of this century the output of silver enormously exceeded that of gold.

During the next twenty-five years the conditions were reversed, and the output of gold enormously exceeded that of silver. Within the quarter of a century following 1850 the mines of the world poured forth as much gold as during the entire preceding three centuries and a half from the discovery of America by Columbus.

Yet through these extraordinary changes in the relative quantity of gold and silver there was substantially no change in their relative value. The steadying influence was the bimetallic system. Not all of the nations, indeed, had bimetallism. England had the gold standard; Germany and Austria had the silver standard; France and her associates of the Latin Union had the bimetallic standard; and with Germany's silver balancing England's gold, France and the nations of the Latin Union served as what Walter Bagehot called "equalizing machines," and upheld the monetary equilibrium. In 1871, two years before our much-abused and unimportant Act of 1873, Germany abandoned the silver and adopted the gold standard, and began to accumulate gold and sell her silver coin. Within seven years she sold $150,000,000 worth, which flowed across the borders of France and Belgium. France and the Latin Union became alarmed and closed their mints to silver. Holland and other nations followed. The European outlet for silver was cut off. At the same time the imports of silver into India fell from 100,000,000 rupees a year to 30,000,000. While the

demand was thus largely reduced the supply was largely increased. The annual production of silver was more than doubled just as this restriction of its use began, and it kept on until it was more than quadrupled.

Here then is the cause of the monetary disturbance and here lies the remedy. The uniformity in the relative value of gold and silver prior to 1873 was maintained by the bimetallic system; it was broken by the general abandonment of that policy; and it can only be reinstated by a general return. The restoration of silver must come through the concurrent action of the commercial nations. The enlightened opinion of the world recognizes these truths. The entire twelve members of the British Gold and Silver Commission agreed that it was the bimetallic system which preserved the stable ratio between gold and silver down to 1873. The six gold monometallist members agreed that bimetallism is practical and desirable for other nations though they hesitated to recommend it for England. The remaining six members declared themselves unreservedly for bimetallism by international agreement. Germany, perceiving the great mistake she made in 1871, has declared for an international conference. England, impelled by the distress among her producing classes, is advancing toward this policy. France has been for it from the beginning. The depression of Europe urges it.

The palpable advantages of bimetallism are gain-

ing ground for it every day. It broadens the monetary basis of credit and enlarges the stock of available sound money. It establishes monetary unity. It makes an approximately fixed par of exchange between gold and silver countries. It promotes stability of values. It minimizes the evils of an appreciating metal on the one hand or of a depreciating metal on the other. The restoration of this system is the restoration of silver, and as its collapse was international so its rehabilitation must be international.

What is our true American policy? We do not want to rest upon gold alone or upon silver alone. We want the joint use of the two metals upon conditions which will make every dollar as good as every other dollar in the pockets of the people, and in the markets of the world. We want the re-establishment on a broader scale of that bimetallic system which for seventy years, through the severest strains, through periods when the silver output was three times as great in value as the gold, and through periods when the gold output was nearly five times as great as the silver, still kept them at a stable ratio and maintained the monetary equilibrium of the nations. To accomplish this result it is our duty to set our faces like adamant against the independent free coinage which would indefinitely postpone bimetallism and simply plunge us upon the silver basis. We ought to learn from our own experience. We have done more to promote the growth in Europe of a demand for international bimetallism since we

stopped the purchase of silver in 1893 than we did during all the years when we were buying $600,000,000 of silver. So long as we alone were carrying the burden Europe smiled and remained passive. When we had sense enough to stop Europe began to be aroused to the necessity of action.

Let us emphasize that lesson. Let us say to Europe by our acts as well as by our words: "We desire international bimetallism; we believe the business of the world will be better for the broadest use of both metals, but the initiative now rests with you."

INCREASED DEMAND FOR GOLD.

Bad as the present situation is, we can stand it as long as you can. We know the German agriculturists are crying out for relief. We know the Lancashire cotton-spinners are in distress and all the Indian exchanges are in confusion. We are ready to join you in an international agreement for the restoration of bimetallism; but if you are not ready and if it is to be a struggle for gold we are going to meet you on that ground. Your London market was shaken when Mr. Vishnegradski boldly went in and bought $70,000,000 of gold to build up Russian credit. You were watchful and solicitous when Austria began to buy gold to rehabilitate her finances. You replaced that treasure by drawing on us. We know that France has wisely acquired

$200,000,000 of gold while we have foolishly parted with that amount. But we are richer and stronger, more self-sustaining and more powerful in resources than the greatest of your nations; and if you are not prepared for bimetallism and if it is to be a contest for the accumulation of gold, then we give notice that we are going into the markets of the world to buy $100,000,000 or $500,000,000 if necessary, in order to take care of ourselves. Such a notice would settle the question inside of six months. Europe would seek a conference and international agreement would follow. That is the solution of the question. Independent free coinage is the pathway to the single silver basis and to untold calamity. The restoration of bimetallism through international agreement is the pathway to honor, safety, and prosperity.

A DANGEROUS HERESY.

I am not wishing to raise any personal issue ; but I desire from a profound sense of public duty, to resist a false and dangerous policy, and to sound a solemn warning against any attempt to commit our own people to a course of dishonor and disaster. It is not the first time there has been a proposal that we should falter in our devotion to honest money and true public faith. There was an hour when the delusion of inflated and depreciated paper seized upon some minds, as the delusion of inflated and depreciated silver seizes upon them now. It was

kindred in motive and inspiration and peril. There were men then as now who were disposed to palter with it. But a distinguished leader of Republicanism boldly met the heresy on the platform and the integrity and rectitude of our people were preserved. Let us confront and confound the present heresy and danger with the same determination and fidelity. Let us stand inflexibly for the honest money which lies at the foundation of all business security and in which every dollar, whether of gold or silver or paper, shall have full exchangeable equality with every other dollar.

The admirable historical summary and argument of Mr. Smith may be fitly supplemented by the statement that the statistics of gold production emphasize all that he has said respecting the influences that affect the value of precious metals, and the difficulties and limitations of bimetallism. The production of gold has reached the enormous and unprecedented sum of $200,000,000 a year. The truth is the increased demand for gold in the richest and most advanced nations has, according to the ancient irrefutable precepts and irrepealable laws of political economy, augmented the supply, so that it is only not improbable, but almost certain, that there will be of new gold added to the money of the world during the McKinley administration of four years one thousand million dollars. The peculiarity of the golden inflation, as was seen in California good times, is that it harms no one and helps everybody. It cheers, but

does not inebriate. It is wholesome inspiration and advancement, and there is no depression, no reaction. While we maintain the existing standard, resisting all extremists, disregarding factions, supporting with the credit of the nation the parity of the white and yellow money metals at the ratio familiar in our affairs, we shall follow the example of bimetallic France and close the mints firmly to the coinage of legal tender silver. We have all of that sort of money we can make good. There is to be no more free coinage of silver—that is fundamental. The tendency of the gold production is to the settlement of the silver questions according to the operation of the laws and economics of nature, leaving less and less to be determined by the legislative wisdom found in the government. We have only to stand solidly, as we are, for honesty and economy, to find the very soil of controversy removed, and our feet on the rocks that have resisted the billows of the oceans and the stormy skies for all the millenniums of which there are records of men.

CHAPTER XI.

WILLIAM McKINLEY AS A CAMPAIGNER.

Speaking to fifteen millions of people — Making one thousand speeches—Constitution of iron—Wondrous vitality—Magnetic power—Excellent memory—Good listener—Making converts—Policy of Protection the hope of America.

IN the past six years William McKinley has been constantly in battle. There has been no rest for him. It has been a continued campaign, in which he was the central figure. Beginning with the impossible contest for re-election to Congress in the gerrymandered district and continuing through the gubernatorial canvass of 1891, the Congressional campaign of 1892, the second fight for the governorship in 1893, the great Congressional contest of 1894, the Ohio campaign of 1895, and the preliminary struggle of 1896, Major McKinley has been under an increasing strain.

In that period he has probably spoken to more than fifteen millions of people, and shaken hands with a million and a half more, and made a thousand speeches, averaging an hour in length. Such was a task to make any man shrink, to test the nerve,

the physical endurance, and the vocal powers; but Major McKinley went through it all without the least symptom of illness, though he was often wearied and worn. The ex-Governor has a constitution of iron, great recuperative powers, the ability to sleep under uncomfortable conditions, to eat without care all sorts of food at all hours, and to digest it well, to drink waters that are ordinarily unhealthy without disastrous results. He has a surprising power, that comes to his rescue when it would seem as if he could do nothing more. He has a wondrous vitality, excellent lungs, and great vocal power. Instead of breaking from constant use his voice seems to gain in strength and volume.

It is interesting to note the way he begins a speech. The hall is always filled when he is booked to talk. It usually happens that it is difficult to get him into the hall, because of the crowds on the outside. The moment he appears on a platform is a signal for prolonged and vehement cheering. His face flushes a little and his eyes flash. He breathes quickly and compresses his lips, the lines around the mouth taking prominence. He brushes the hair back from his forehead with a nervous hand. Though outwardly composed, it appears to those who know him that he is a little anxious and a bit apprehensive, possibly almost alarmed. It is worthy of note when he steps on a platform and is greeted with enthusiasm, he bows low and waves his hands from side to side. The silk hat is always in the right hand, the brim firmly gripped.

This is generally ruffled, for at the moment he forgets that it gets pressed. The bowing continues until the fury of the reception shows a sign of abatement. For the last four years almost every chairman of a meeting has introduced him as "the next President." To those who campaigned with him this became somewhat of a joke, and there were bets made, the odds being always two to one that would be the introduction. Now the chairman of a political meeting is generally a man of consequence in the neighborhood where the meeting is held. The opportunity of introducing such an orator as McKinley does not come often, and every chairman takes advantage of it. It is amusing to note the expression of McKinley's face when the introduction is prolonged. He frowns almost imperceptibly. Only one who has studied his countenance would notice it. There follows a look of weariness and then of impatience. He moves his feet a little and is restless. The strain is becoming painful to hear and the compliments dreary. They have been repeated probably twice before on the same day, and it is not often that anything of keen interest is said. When the inevitable "next President" comes the Major's face is impassive. One would not know from his attitude that the reference was to him. He does not seem to hate it, but would as leave it was omitted.

Finally the chairman has come to the "Fellow citizens, I have the great pleasure, etc.," and McKinley steps forward and there are cheers. The speaker

clasps his hands behind him and bows right and left, to the pit and to the gallery. He moves his hand to still the enthusiasts and begins. He has discovered whether there are women present and then in a voice almost inaudible says, "Ladies and Gentlemen. My fellow citizens." The opening sentence is always a striking one. It is spoken in a low tone. Someone in the rear of the hall or at the edge of the crowd says "Louder!" and there are many sounds of "Shu!" McKinley pays no attention to the interruption except to wave one hand again. The voice of the orator becomes stronger and in ten sentences the words ring and reach every corner of the hall. The audience is leaning forward eager to catch every word.

As he proceeds the Major warms. He gesticulates with both hands. He hits the air a little to emphasize a point and while his attitude is unstudied it is graceful. He owns the crowd now. It is hypnotized by his eloquence. His hair grows damp with perspiration. Possibly a dark lock will stray over his forehead. It is impatiently brushed back and the sweep of a handkerchief cools the brow. His eyes are flashing fire. His breast heaves with the storm. His voice rushes from between his teeth and his lips are compressed as he finishes a word. His tones are pitched in a higher key. There is a metallic tone in the voice and yet it is musical. His bearing is impassioned. He has forgotten self and is regardless of everything but his subject. One

perceives that he is sincere in what he says. Every one sees that he is in deadly earnest, that this is no sham passion but the real thing. His words pierce the air defiantly and it is astonishing any creature can fail of conviction. The audience has grown intense in its interest. Many forget to cough or move. They are absorbed and their little selfishnesses are neglected. Every now and then some deep voice says "That is so!" or utters an "Amen." His companions who have heard him a hundred times are as interested as those who are hearing him for the first time. There is no resisting the earnestness of the orator, for all his soul and strength are in the speech. There will be nothing more serious in the sound of the last trumpet. Some one may interrupt to ask a question, to try to "stump him," to catch him unawares. McKinley is so discussing his subject that he fails to hear what is said. He stops and looks in the direction of the ground and then says sharply, "What's that?" The audience cries "Put him out." "No, no," says McKinley, "let him ask his question. Never put any one out." Probably the question is repeated. There is no hesitancy in the answer. The Major is ready. He turns a laugh on the questioner by his flashing reply. He takes no mean advantage, but answers the question frankly. Generally his reply is epigrammatic. It always is complete.

Major McKinley has dramatic power and a magnetism as a speaker. In describing scenes he pictures

realistically. The old soldiers are always impressed when he refers to them. Again and again he has brought tears to the eyes of the veterans when he has told of the horrors of war. Old men sob like children and there is scarcely a dry eye in the multitude. There is a sincerity in his tributes to soldiers that is convincing. He has been there. He knows what he is talking about. Though of any one else his talk of the war might be called stagey, that criticism is never made of McKinley. No one would dare to do so, because it would be untrue. It would be impossible to find a speaker who has a better grasp of the subject, whether finance, protection, arbitration or foreign affairs. His talk is always illustrative and comprehensible and instructive. It is serious. There are no anecdotes to amuse. The orator does not convince by raising laughs, but rather by the indisputability of statements. It is a grave matter this campaigning with him. It is a mission, not a jest; an attempt to convert, not to please. Neither does he arouse passion or opposition by assaults or trivial personalities. He assumes that those who disagree with him are sincere, as he is, and seeks to relieve them of their error.

When he has finished, no matter how hot the day, McKinley puts on two overcoats, one light and the other of gray cloth, without sleeves, but with a cape. He buttons these around him to keep from catching cold. He thinks it well to let the perspiration flow freely for a while and then when he gets privacy

rubs himself well and puts on dry clothes. Exposed as he is in campaigns to all sorts and conditions of weather, he must have a care not to get a chill, and it is recorded that he was never incapacitated from speaking by bronchial troubles.

Major McKinley remembers faces well. He generally recalls a name, and when on a campaign he is certain to meet old friends, and the result is pleasing to both. He talks easily and freely with them and is entirely without assumption of superiority. He is approachable always. It is the custom when a campaign is made for the speaker to be assigned to the best hotel, or to go to some private house—it being preferable to lodge at a hotel. There is always a committee of reception of citizens who have done such good service to the party as deserves that honor, or whose position in the community makes it well to recognize them. Such a committee meets McKinley at the station and of course there is a band. When the campaign is in such a State as Ohio, the band in the smaller towns is a great institution. It is the pride of the community. Unfortunately the bands pay more attention to securing uniforms and keeping their instruments glistening than they do to harmony. The result is sometimes not alluring. They often play the same tunes. An air has a sudden popularity and the band must play it. The sounds they make and the repetition of them add to the labors of the campaigners. Major McKinley, who has a good ear for music, always displays great self-

control. He never winces, no matter how hard the music tires him. Of course he would say nothing about it, unless some one would mention—say a citizen of the community who had supported the band—"It is a pretty good band." The Major then smiles as if in assent, but he never commits himself further. If he nods it is sufficient and the band is held in higher esteem than ever.

It is interesting in campaigning to observe how anxious McKinley is for information. When he comes to a town he listens to the talk of the politicians, to their statements of crop conditions, and of local affairs. Then information is drawn out regarding their industries. McKinley never cross-questions his informers. He simply listens, and he is a mighty good listener. He says only what is necessary to keep the stream of talk flowing. At the meeting held immediately afterward it would be seen that the talk had been digested—that the orator had gained from the conversation much to use to give a touch of local color, and to make plain his general arguments.

It has been the custom of those who choose to oppose Major McKinley, or to belittle him, to say he can only make one speech. This is as far as possible from the truth. If he is arguing on the tariff, in a campaign, he must do so. The basis of the speech is necessarily the same. The language and the illustrations are varied. He continually adds ideas and arguments, new epigrammatic phrases, and

makes the theme constantly interesting, even to companions in the campaign. It was always instructive to notice how he develops thought—builds around it, and makes it effective.

The Major never seemed to get tired, no matter how trying the toil. He outlasts those who accompany him. He is always the first up in the morning, though often the last to retire; cheerful and patient, accepting what was set before him with gratitude. He seems somehow to have the knack of making everybody around him at home, and is accessible to everybody.

When traveling on a train he would naturally meet the brakemen and conductors, and they seemed to feel that he was one of them. They approach him with friendly familiarity. They sit down by him, crowd the aisles to talk with him, and go away proud of having met the great protectionist. It is seldom that one of them fails to thank him for his services to the industries of the country, or to wish him good luck. When waiting for a train he talks with the baggage man or station agent, or with those who waited to see him off, always gaining knowledge of existing conditions, and it was the better because from those who gained it by personal experience. He knew what the workingmen thought as he did what the idea of the business men was.

On one occasion, early in the campaign of 1893 in Ohio, the Governor and the newspaper men who accompanied him came to a small, unprepossessing

place. It was raining when the party arrived. The arrangements were poor, and there was only one carriage, and the committee, to be with the Governor, got in with him. The other members of the party had to walk.

The Governor happened to overhear some of his party complaining rather angrily of the treatment accorded them. Quietly calling them aside, he said: "Well, suppose you are dissatisfied; the committee did the best it could. The hotel is the best in town; we have been treated as well as the people could. Remember that they do not understand that what they have done is not pleasing. Remember that wherever we go we will get the best that the community affords. What more can you expect?" Thereafter there were no complaints, the lesson had been a wholesome one. Major McKinley, in campaigning, always had an eye to the feelings of the people. In one campaign the party came to a town on the border of Indiana. The people are religiously inclined. While waiting for the meeting there was nothing to do, so some of the party set about to amuse themselves by playing "horse." McKinley sent for them, and told them the effect it was having, and they stopped. A campaign is a serious thing for him. Cordial and friendly, and even jovial at times, he would permit nothing that looked like levity touching serious things. Once something detained him while his party was on the stand waiting for the meeting to begin. One of the gubernatorial crowd

had a habit of pushing himself forward, securing the most conspicuous place. The members of the press assigned to follow the Governor in the campaign had noticed this, and the opportunity seemed to have arrived for a little fun at the expense of the pusher. A cry was started for him to speak. Soon the people on the stand caught on, and the cry increased in volume. Just then McKinley came, and as he stepped to the front he turned and asked sternly, "Who did this?" It was explained that the forward one had expressed a wish to speak, and that the opportunity seemed to have been afforded him, but the Major was not appeased. In campaigns there are many glee clubs. There is one at almost every meeting. The songs which rang with his name never seemed to displease the Governor. He would beat time and nod his head, and his silk hat got hard treatment.

In the campaign of 1893 in Ohio and that of 1894, which the Governor made in sixteen States in a month and a half, he was always finding new converts to Republicanism, made so by Democratic incompetence and tariff tinkering. Never was he so pleased as when such a convert would grasp his hand and pledge his support to the Republican party. To McKinley the policy of protection is the hope of America, and everything that shows a growth in its favor delights him. The convert was always asked to give the point that converted him, and it was used by McKinley in his next speech.

It is hard enough to deliver a speech. It is sufficiently wearying to go through the muscular part of it; it is trying on the nerves to be constantly keyed up to the point necessary to such speeches as McKinley makes; but worse is the hand-shaking that follows, which, if the speaker be popular—and of course McKinley suffered more through this than in any other way. He shook hands with at least four hundred people every day during the Ohio campaign of 1893. He seemed to enjoy it, but it wore on him. It became necessary to stop often. The members of the audience would clamber on a platform and fairly mob the Governor in attempting to shake his hand. Sometimes a scheme was worked, but not often. A friend would stand behind the governor and thrust his hands under McKinley's arms. The Governor would hold his at his side, and the friend take the cruel grip of those who in their enthusiasm forgot how strong they really were. After trying this once or twice McKinley declined to permit "such a fraud to be practiced." It was always hard to get McKinley to bed. He would get into a talk with friends after a meeting, and he would not dismiss them, for he was too polite. The only thing that could be done was to go to his room, open one's watch and say, "Governor, you have to get up at five, and it is now midnight." That sent the crowd away. The most noticeable thing about McKinley as a campaigner is his indefatigability. He makes two speeches of an hour and a half each and two others of from five to

ten minutes, day in and day out. In his earnestness, his enthusiasm, his versatility, his eloquence, his magnetic power over an audience, and his dramatic force, he stands unequaled.

CHAPTER XII.

McKINLEY'S ADVICE TO BOYS.

The enterprising boy—Interviewing Major McKinley—Boys' own account of it—Painting up the town—Looks like Napoleon—Fatherly advice—An important question.

A FEW weeks ago an errand-boy in the New York *World* became interesting through his anxiety to become a great man, and to find out how to do it by talking with great men and gaining instruction with a view to his education, the managing editor had a happy thought that the boy might become an interviewer, and sent him, accompanied by a reporter, to the most accessible of great men, Mr. Chauncey Depew. After the conversation it turned out there was no occasion for the reporter's notes or his literary skill. The memory of the boy was perfect, and he had a quaint, simple way of putting things that was attractive. The boy was a success, and he was sent to interview Major McKinley, and the result is a beautiful picture of the Republican candidate in his home, and a talk from him that every boy in America should read many times,

and that is worthy to go into the school-books as a marvel of manly talk to a boy.

The boy went out to McKinley's home in Canton, O., from New York City, was received cordially, and the statesman gave more than a half hour of his time, while a half dozen politicians stood on the piazza clamoring for admittance.

The boy's report of his half hour with Mr. McKinley follows :

"I have been down to Ohio to see Mr. McKinley, the big Republican. As I have visited many men who are great, and as Mr. McKinley seems to be the greatest of all at present, I wanted to see him bad, so I took a call on him at Canton, Ohio, the town he lives in.

"When a man gets big like him he ought to be able to tell boys how to become great to, so I thought It would pay me to go down there and ask of him some advice on How a young boy can start in life and become a great man.

"Canton isn't as big a town as New York, and everybody in the place knows Mr. McKinley and the family.

"It isn't easy to ask Major McKinley things for the newspapers, I knew that before I started, so I found Mr. Boyle, his private secretary, and told him I was the boy reporter for the *Sunday World*, and all the boys wanted to hear about Mr. McKinley, and would he please fix it so I could see him. Mr. Boyle was a newspaper man and he knew all about it, so I

told him I didn't want to talk politics, and that I wanted to ask Mr. McKinley how I or other boys could get to be as famous as he was.

"Then Mr. Boyle laughed, and said that Major McKinley was a very busy man all the time, but as he liked boys awful well, I might call around to his house and see him in the morning. As I had come all the way from New York, and wanted to do so, so much.

"Then I was glad. So when morning came I got up early and started for Mr. McKinley's house, one thing struck me awfully funny on the road their it was that they were painting all the telegraph poles, and everything else in the town white and blue, they seemed tickled about something by the way they were slapping the paint all over the street, and I guess paint is cheap in Ohio, so I asked a man what they we painting up for, and he said they're getting ready to celebrate McKinley's nomination.

"So I know everybody in Canton liked the big Republican, and I hurried on. His house is a pretty one, made of wood and painted white, on a fine broad street, and there wasn't any basements or steps, like we see in New York Houses.

"It's a fine place to live in, and I'd like to live there myself.

"I knew right away that it was where Mr. McKinley and his wife Mrs. McKinley lived, for Mr. Boyle had told me what it looked like, he said there were two big earns painted white standing in the big lawn in

front of the house. They weren't anything but two big flower-pots, as big as I am.

"I went up to the door and pressed the button, and inquired as to see Mr. McKinley, its an electric bell, and I suppose it will be worn out soon, if there's as many callers come every day as come and wanted to see him as while I was there.

"A young man who was an other private secretary came to the door, Major McKinley has two private secretaries.

"'Come right in,' says he and he took my card, and went into a room right by the door. I asked for Mr. Boyle, but the young man took my card to a large man, in the front room, and when he came out and said, 'step right in here and sit down.' I walked in, and there was a big man sitting in the corner. I knew him right off as soon as I seen him, and I sat there in a rocking chair, sizing him up and the room I was in.

"It was Major McKinley.

"I seen he had a round head with not much hair on the top, and I knew it was him, because he looked like the pictures of Napoleon at the elevated stations, which the newspaper artists make him look like.

"He wore eye-glasses and a black coat, and had awful big eye-brows, and he didn't look like as if he was in a great hurry, and I hoped he'd talk to me a good deal.

"He was at a little desk looking over some letters.

"I liked him right off, and then I looked at the room. It was his library and he uses it as his office, it is very large with plenty of book shelves, which are full of his favorite authors, Grant, Lincoln and himself.

"Pictures were hanging on the walls of Grant, Lincoln, and a lot of other great men and also a large beautiful picture of his wife Mrs. McKinley and himself.

"Then I looked at Mr. McKinley again, and I seemed to be getting almost afraid to talk to him for I thought he was such a big man, wise and great, but I thought to myself that there wasn't any use for me to come all the way from New York and not talk to him.

"So I got my senses together and just then Mr. Boyle came down stairs and stepped over to the Major, and said right off that there was a boy there to see him. Mr. McKinley got right up from his chair and stared at me with a very pleasant smile on his face.

"'this is Harry Wilson,' said Mr. Boyle, 'who has come from New York to see you.'

"'I'm pleased to see you,' said Mr. McKinley, and he gave me his hand for to shake, and I liked him more than ever, because he acted as if he was real pleased to see me.

"'Sit down,' said he, and he pointed to my rocking chair, and then he sat down in front of me in one of them chairs that whirl around like the Editor's chair.

"And I said to him, 'Mr. McKinley I am more than pleased to meet you, as I think that not more than one of a thousand boys could see you and talk with you, and I'm proud.'

"Then I told him at once what I had come for, because I didn't want to keep him from his work, writing letters and such things.

"'Mr. McKinley,' I said, 'I come to ask you if you would give me some advice as to how a young boy can start in life and become a great man; I thought you could tell me.'

"I wondered what he was going to say, as I've asked a lot of big men like Chauncey Depew and Alderman Muh the same thing. He sat still for a moment holding his eye-glasses with his right hand, and pushing the black bead on the cord with his other hand. I saw he wears a gold ring on the left hand and a pair of great big cuff buttons, not link buttons, like the swells wear; I guess his wife must have given them to him.

"He thought a long time, and then talked very slowly, and his voice was deep.

"'Well,' he said, 'first a boy must be a good boy, honest, always do what is right, pay attention to what he is doing, and be a student; he must go to school all he can, learn all his lessons, and he mustn't be afraid to study.'

"Then I thought to myself what Mr. McKinley had said was perfectly right; then I paused for a moment, thinking what I should ask him next. I

had never been far outside of New York before, and Canton looked like a very small town to me, and I wondered if it was a good place to make smart men in.

"'Mr. McKinley,' I said, 'will you please tell me do you think a boy has as much chance to study and make a great man out of himself in a small place like this as the boys in great cities like New York have?'

"That made him smile, but he said right off, 'A boy can make anything out of himself that he pleases, and he has just as much chance to do it in the country as in the city; there are good colleges in small places, just the same as in New York, and a boy, if he wants to, can make what he will out of himself.'

"He was beginning to get warmed up and was beginning to talk fast. He went on:

"'It don't make so much difference where it is or how great the part he plays, but it's the way he plays it. The other night I saw a play at the theatre called "The Rivals." Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Drew and Mrs. Drew, and Mrs. Tabor, and Mr. Crane and Goodwin, the Holland brothers, and Francis Wilson, played the parts; every one of them was great, and used to be stars, but they were content to take some parts that were very small in "The Rivals," but they played them just as well as if they had been big.

"'That is the way with boys and men; it isn't so much to be great as to do whatever you have to do well, that is being great.'

"I began to feel as if I was hearing a sermon, and the Major McKinley looked very sober.

"Then he got in a good word for Canton. 'It isn't such a small place,' he said, 'and it's a very nice town to live in. Some of the best farms are out this way. Before you go back to New York you had better take a good look around.'

"But I wasn't through with him yet. I said, 'Mr. McKinley, would you please be so kind as to tell me when a boy should go into politics?'

"Then he laughed again and looked at his secretary, Mr. Boyle, who looks a good deal like Mr. McKinley. Mr. Boyle was going to say something, when Mr. McKinley suddenly sprang from his chair into the hall, and came in in a few moments with a lady leaning on his arm.

"It was Mrs. McKinley, and she was very sweet-looking, and I was delighted to see her, and I think she would make folks comfortable if she lived in the White House at Washington.

"Mr. McKinley is very fond of her, I am sure, and he escorted her to the carriage, and she was going out for a morning ride.

"Then he came back and sat down with a smile on his face. When he was about to begin to talk to me he was called away again, and stayed away a few moments and then came in again and sat down and then laughed, and began to ask me questions before I could ask him some more.

"'How old are you; how long have you been work-

ing?' I then told him and he wanted to know how long I had been reporting. I said 'eight months.'

"He then said to me, 'Harry, I believe you must have a great deal of good advice by this time,' and the Major laughed. So did all the rest in the room.

"I said 'If I could follow all I've been told I'd be a great man pretty quick.'

"Mr. McKinley is very fond of his mother, who is eighty-seven years old, and lives near him, so I said, 'Can a boy neglect his mother and get along and be great, Mr. McKinley?'

"He looked very grave and sad, and then said:

"'Harry, a boy should always be good to his mother and do everything in the world he can and love her. He must comfort her, be kind and gentle to her, and not only do all he can to make her happy, but he should make opportunities to try and do everything he can do.'

"That's just the Major McKinley's words, because I wrote them down when I came out of the home.

"'A boy cannot expect to succeed if he isn't good to his mother,' the Major says. 'A boy should do all the work for her because when the time comes that she has got to leave for a greater world than this and if he has done what is right towards her, all the time, then when the time comes for her to go he will never regret the good he has done towards her.'

"Then I said 'I have done everything in the world I can do for my mother,' and then he said,

"'That's right, Harry, do all you can at all times.'

"Then I stoped for a moment and says 'If every boy would follow the advice which you have given me, he never will feel sorry for the good work he has done for her when the end comes.'

"Then I stoped a moment and thought that Mr. McKinley hadn't told me when a boy should go into politics, and I said,

"'Mr. McKinley, will you tell me when a boy ought to study politics.'

"He then stoped a moment, and then said to me,

"'Harry, first a boy should study the History of his country, and learn all the political history of the country. He should learn what the leaders have done for their country, so that when the time comes for him to vote he will be able to do so intelligently.'

"Then some more people came in to see him, and the Major McKinley went out into the hall again, and I knew he was in a hurry, so I said that I wished to ask one more thing. I remembered I had nearly forgotten one of the most important questions.

"I then said after he had returned from outside of the hall, 'Mr. McKinley I have just one more question, and it is an important one.'

"I then said 'would you tell me how you earned your first dollar?'

"He sank back in his chair and looked as if that wasn't what he expected me to ask him, then he put his hand up to the side of his head, as if to recall the years which had passed by, and then with a smile said:

"'Really I can't recall the first dollar that I earned,' he keeped on thinking, and I tried to make him think a little harder.

"Then I said, 'did you have to saw wood, did you have to drive oxes all day long, or did you have to work in the field all day, can't you remember what you used to do to earn money.'

"He then said to me, 'why Harry I did anything a boy would do around the house. When I was a boy money was very scarce, and you had to work hard for what little money you got. But I can't remember the first dollar. You have to ask me something easy.'

"What kind of books should a boy who wants to be great read?"

"'Ah! now I have to refer you to my private secretary, he has a lecture which he speaks on the stage that tells all that and much more.'

"So then I knew my talk was over with him. I felt very sorry to say good-bye, but I said:

"'Mr. McKinley, I want to thank you, for it was very good in you to stop to talk to a boy, and I am very grateful.'

"'And I am very glad that you came to see me,' says he. 'I'm always glad to talk with boys. I like them and like to be with them. What is there in all the world nicer than a boy, except a sweet young girl? Come again, Harry, and I hope you'll have the best of luck and do some good in the world with your work. Send me a paper.'

"Then we shook hands again, and Mr. Boyle went out on the porch with me, and there was a lot of big men—polictitians, I guess—and I think Mr. McKinley was very nice to talk to me and keep them waiting so long.

"I guess all the boys who knows Mr. McKinley like Mr. McKinley as well as he likes them, because the boys of Canton, O., have already formed a drum core. Its the first campaign club in the country, and the boys are very proud of it. I'd join if I lived in Canton. The boys all wear white suits and drill, and are going to march for McKinley.

"HARRY WILSON."

Harry Wilson has beaten all the accomplished reporters, and his photograph of McKinley at home is perfect. It is valuable, for it is true all through, and the wholesome, serious, earnest, kindly, loving, genuine man, McKinley, stands revealed—symmetrical, strong, and genial.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONTRASTED CONDITIONS.

Between Republican protection and prosperity and Democratic meddling, disorganizing industry and forcing hard times, displayed in speeches by McKinley in 1892 and in 1895—A plea in Boston for protection and prosperity.

GOVERNOR McKINLEY, on October 4th, 1892, in American Hall, Boston, addressed the people, beginning then, as he might now, saying:

"This year we have two great questions. The contention of the Republican party is for the industries and the labor and the prosperity of the country. The second contention of the Republican party is for an honest currency with which to measure the exchanges of the people."

He proceeded to make a speech most pertinent to these times, and put to the front the leading questions. His remarkably forcible speech is now just as it was reported for the press. We quote:

"The Democratic contention, no matter what Mr. Hill may have said in his Brooklyn speech, no matter what Mr. Cleveland may have said in his recent

letter of acceptance—the contention of the Democratic party is for free trade and for a debased, worthless currency. If this is disputed, the history of the most unfortunate Cleveland adminstration proves it. [Applause.] The leaders of the Democratic party have been financially unsound for more than thirty years. [Applause.] This unsoundness has not always taken on the same form, but its effect has always been the same—to corrupt the currency of the country. You will remember its opposition to the greenback currency, its opposition to the national bank currency, its opposition to the resumption of specie payments, its declaration in favor of the inflation of the currency without limit in value and irredeemable. You will remember its declaration for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. These have been the positions of the Democratic party in every national contest for the past thirty years, one or the other, and driven from the one they have taken up the other. Their last was the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Driven by the party exigency, by the near approach of a Presidential campaign, they abandoned the free and unlimited coinage of silver, put in nomination a candidate in opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and when they did that they had to break out in some other place. [Applause.] And so they declared in their platform of 1892 for the abolition of the ten per cent. tax on State bank circulation, the only object of such a declaration being to restore

such State bank circulation, and the only effect of such restoration would be the retirement of the national money of the country.

"This is the worst form of financial unsoundness that has ever emanated from the Democratic leaders, and I purpose for a few minutes, and only a few minutes, to call the attention of this audience to what the return to State bank circulation means—means to every business in the country, means to every interest of the country, means to every wage-earner of the country, means to every dollar of invested capital in the country—a proposition to go away from the national bank and the greenback and the treasury note currency to the wildcat currency of thirty years ago. [Applause.]

"You will remember that in 1866 the Congress of the United States imposed a tax on State banks. The purpose of that tax was to retire State bank circulation, and to substitute in its place national money, and it had the desired effect. State bank money went out and national currency came in. And we had to do it. We had a nation to save and we had to have national agencies to save it. State agencies would not do.

"Now, it is proposed to go back to that, when we have got the best currency in the world. And I want to read you the condition of the banks of this country prior to 1860. I have lying on this table the old *Bank Note Detector*, which every business man had to have to know whether the money he was receiving was

genuine or whether it was counterfeit. Here is the old document, dated the first day of December, 1859. Now, what does it show? It shows that this country at that time had 1,590 State banks of issue, exclusive of what were called 'State banks and their branches' —1,590 of them, and the notes of but fifty of those banks were at par. The notes of the 1,540 other banks were at a discount. There was not a bank in the State of Massachusetts that was quoted at par in the city of Philadelphia. There was not a note issued by any State bank in Ohio, or in any State bank in Pennsylvania, or any State bank in Illinois that was current at par outside of the jurisdiction and limits of the State. The money was fairly good within the State, but when you stepped across the State lines then the holder of that currency had to look out for the speculator and the shaver and stand a discount. And that was the kind of money with which we did the business of this country. And no man when he got some of that paper was certain that before morning came the bank would not fail. [Laughter.] And then there were 890 broken, failed, and worthless banks, in addition to the 1,590, scattered throughout every State of the Union, whose notes had been put in circulation, had been taken by the people of this country, value given for such paper money, which proved to be worthless in the hands of the people, and of no more account than the paper upon which it was printed. The Republican party is against the return to the State bank circulation. [Great applause.]

"Daniel Webster, away back in 1832, said in this city, and I cannot do better than to quote his words, upon this very subject of State banks:

"'These State banks, lying under no restraint from the General Government or any of its institutions, issued paper money corresponding to their own sense of their immediate interests and hopes of gain. . . . I believe, gentlemen, "the experiment" must go through—the experiment of State bank money. I believe that every part and every portion of our country will have a satisfactory test of what they call the "better currency." I believe we shall be blessed again with the currency of 1812, when money was the only uncurrent species of property. We have amidst all the distress that surrounds us men of power who condemn the national bank in every form, maintain the efficacy and efficiency of State banks for domestic exchange, and, amidst all the sufferings and terrors of "the experiment," cry out that they are establishing "a better currency." 'The experiment,' says Mr. Webster—'the experiment upon what? The experiment of one man upon the happiness, the well-being, and, I may also say, upon the lives of 12,000,000 human beings'—63,000,000 to-day is what the experiment would mean; it was 17,000,000 then—'the experiment that found us in health, the experiment that found us with the best currency on the face of the earth, the same from the North to the South, from Boston to St. Louis, and possessing the unlimited confidence of foreign coun-

tries, and which leaves us crushed, ruined, without gain at home and without credit abroad. The Government of the United States stands chargeable, in my opinion, with a gross dereliction from duty in leaving the currency of the country entirely at the mercy of others without seeking to exercise over it any control whatever. The means of exercising this control rests in the wisdom of Congress. . . . It is a power that cannot be yielded to others with safety to the country and with credit to them. The Government may as well give up to the States the power of making peace or war, leave the twenty-six independent States to select their own foes, raise their own troops, and conclude their own terms of peace. It might as well leave the States to impose their own duties and regulate their own terms of trade and commerce as to give up control over the currency in which the whole nation is interested.' [Applause.]

"That was the language of Daniel Webster in 1832, and every word of it applies to the situation to-day. It is proposed by the leaders of the Democratic party to give up the national currency, which is the best in the world, and go back to this unstable and unsatisfactory and worthless currency which Mr. Webster characterized as unfit to do the business of this great country. We have to-day gold and silver and paper money, each the equal of the other—equal in debt-paying and in legal-tender power; good not only at home, but good in every business corner of the world; worth 100 cents on the dollar every week of

every month of every year. [Applause.] There is not a man in this great audience who has a national bank note in his purse to-night who knows where that note was issued. He does not know the city or the town or the county or the State from whence it came. He does not know whether it was issued in Maine or whether it was issued in California, and he does not care [great applause], because it is good wherever it was issued; because the government of the United States stands behind it [applause], and that government has for its security the bonds of the United States, which sell at a premium in every money centre of the world. [Renewed applause.] Every dollar we have got, because the government stands behind it, is as good as every other dollar. There is one thing the people of this country have no business to trifle with, and that is the money of the country, which measures the products of your land and your labor, the products of your energy and your skill. [Applause.] That should be fixed and unalterable and unchangeable, and that is its situation to-day. The currency of this country should be as national as its flag. [Applause.] It should be as unsullied as the national conscience and as sound as the government itself. [Applause.] And there is not a business man or workingman, no matter to what political party he belongs, if he will honestly vote his convictions, who will not vote against the party that proposes to re-establish a system under which this country lost millions upon

millions of dollars. [Applause.] We have had all of the Confederate currency we want. [Loud cheers.] We are for United States currency in some form for all time in the future. [Applause.] And we are not only opposed to Confederate currency, but we are opposed to British political economy. We not only fight for our industries and our labor, that they may be prosperous and well paid, but we insist that when they have earned their money they shall be paid in a dollar worth one hundred cents. [Great cheering.] When a workingman gives ten hours a day to his employer—ten full hours—he is entitled to be paid in a dollar worth full one hundred cents. [Applause.] Free trade shaves down his labor first, and then scales down his pay by rewarding him in a worthless and a depreciated State currency. [Applause.] The one reduces his wages, and the other cheats him in the pay. [Applause.] And that is the Democratic platform of 1892. [Applause.] No man can escape it. Mr. Hill undertook to do it in his Brooklyn speech, but Mr. Hill undertook to do in that speech what the National Democratic Convention had declared by solemn vote it would not do. [Applause.] And then, besides, if I may be permitted to speak with the greatest respect of Mr. Hill and in perfectly parliamentary language, Mr. Hill is hardly in a position to make a platform for the Democratic party which the Democratic convention rejected when he himself was rejected by the same party. [Prolonged cheers.] He says it is

true that protection is unconstitutional, but he is willing for the good of the country to take it in small quantities [great laughter], even of the unconstitutional article. He says protection is a fraud, but he is in favor of incidental protection—that is, he is in favor of an incidental fraud. A fraud by accident he does not object to. A fraud by a casualty he sees no objection to, or a fraud by incident; but protection plain and simple, says Mr. Hill, although he tries to fix up a new platform, is a fraud upon the American people. And he says it is unconstitutional. Protection unconstitutional? I know of but one constitution which it violates and that is the constitution of the Confederate States. [Long applause and cheers.] It is in direct violation of that instrument. But we are not operating under it. [Laughter.] That instrument went down before the resistless armies of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan [cheers], and the Constitution of Washington and Lincoln was sustained. [Applause.] And that is the Constitution under which we are operating to-day—the Constitution of Washington and of Lincoln and of Grant. [Cheers.]

"Unconstitutional? That is the last objection of the Democratic leaders. [Laughter.] It usually precedes immediate acquiescence and surrender. [Laughter.] It comes after they have tried every other objection. They do not seem to know that the man who made the first Protective Tariff law we ever had, in 1789—the men who made the first Protective

Tariff law—made the Constitution of the United States. [Loud cheers.] James Madison, a member of the Constitutional Convention, and who afterward became President of the United States, reported that bill to Congress. It passed the House of Representatives, composed as that body was largely of members of the Constitutional Convention; it passed that body unanimously, and passed the Senate of the United States by a vote of five to one, and in that body were a large number of men who made the Constitution itself. And that Protective Tariff law was finally signed by George Washington, the President of the United States. [Applause.]

"That is not all. I have always liked the fathers, for they had a blunt, plain way of saying what they meant. They put into that first protective law what has never appeared in a Protective Tariff law since. They put into the preamble of that law exactly what they meant. What did they say? They said, 'We levy these duties to raise money to pay the debts of the government; to provide money for the expenses of the United States, and to encourage and protect manufactures in the United States.' [Enthusiastic cheering.] There is not a historic Democrat, from Jefferson down to Cleveland—excluding Mr. Cleveland—who has not always sustained the constitutionality of a Protective Tariff. Jefferson sustained it, as did Jackson and Madison and Wright and Benton and Buchanan, and dozens and dozens more of names well known in the political history of our country.

HON. C. H. GROSVENOR.

MARK HANNA.

Is Grover Cleveland a better constitutional lawyer than Thomas Jefferson? [Shouts of 'No.'] Is Adlai Stevenson a better constitutional lawyer than James Madison? [Laughter.] Is Governor Russell a safer expounder of the Constitution than Daniel Webster? [Applause and cries of 'No.'] Is Henry Watterson safer than Henry Clay? [Shouts of 'No.'] Are all of them combined as safe to be relied upon as the Supreme Court of the United States, which, over and over again, has sustained the constitutionality of a Protective Tariff? [Applause and cries of 'No.'] Have Mr. Cleveland and the other Democratic leaders forgotten that within twelve months the Supreme Court of the United States has put its judicial sanction upon the tariff law of 1890? [Applause.] And if that is not a Protective Tariff law [great laughter] it is the result of accident and not design. [Long applause and cheers.]

Protective tariffs are not only constitutional, but in our own experience they have proved wholesome to the great body of the American people. [Applause.] No nation in the world has done so well as ours; not one. Match it if you can under any circumstances the world over. [Applause.] We are the youngest nation on the face of the earth, and yet we have reached the first rank in mining, in manufacture, and in agriculture of all the nations the wide world over. [Applause.] But they said your protective tariffs, and especially the law of 1890, would build a Chinese wall around this country, and

that you could neither get out or come in. [Laughter.] That is what they said in 1890. That is what they said in 1891. And if results did not overtake predictions, the Democratic party would be the greatest party of the world. [Laughter.] If that party could be only unembarrassed by facts! [Great applause.]

Keep us out of the home market? I said in Tremont Temple a little more than a year ago that this Protective Tariff law would vindicate itself. You believed it then—you know it now. [Loud applause and cheers.] Shut us out from our foreign trade? Why, the last twelve months, under the operation of the new law, we have had more foreign trade than we ever had in any twelve months of our national history. [Applause.] Our foreign trade amounted last year to $1,890,000,000, a point never reached before in the history of the United States. [Great applause.] They called the Fifty-first Congress, which was Republican—the Congress over which the Czar presided [tremendous cheering]—they called it a billion-dollar Congress. More than that—it was a billion-and-eight-hundred-and-ninety-million-dollar Congress. We sent more American products to Europe in the last twelve months in volume and in value than we ever sent in any twelve months since the government began. One billion and thirty million dollars of American products went to Europe, $849,000,000 of European products came to the United States, and

Europe paid us $240,000,000 in gold to settle the balance of trade in favor of the American producer. [Applause.] We never had so good a business at home as we have got now, and we never had so large a business abroad as we have got now. And I noticed in the *Evening Post*, or the *Morning Post*, of the city of Boston, a leading, double-leaded editorial, telling how prosperous the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the city of Boston are to-day. I don't know what the politics of that paper are [great laughter], and I don't care, because there are no politics in facts. [Cheers.] Ah! but they say, if you had not the Protective Tariff things would be a little cheaper. Well, whether a thing is cheap or whether it is dear depends upon what we can earn by our daily labor. Free trade cheapens the product by cheapening the producer. Protection cheapens the product by elevating the producer. [Applause.] Under free trade the trader is the master and the producer the slave. Protection is but the law of nature, the law of self-preservation, of self-development, of securing the highest and best destiny of the race of man. [Cheers.]

"Grover Cleveland says, strangely, in his letter: 'We must consult morals as well as maxims.' [Laughter.] I suppose he means by that that protection is immoral. Immoral! Why, if protection builds up and elevates 63,000,000 of people, the influence of those 63,000,000 of people elevates the rest of the world. [Great applause.] We cannot

take a step in the pathway of progress without benefiting mankind everywhere. Well, they say, 'Buy where you can buy the cheapest.' That is one of their maxims. Buy where you can buy the cheapest. Of course, that applies to labor as to everything else. Let me give you a maxim that is a thousand times better than that, and it is a protection maxim: 'Buy where you can pay the easiest.' [Great applause.] And that spot of earth is where labor wins its highest rewards. What has this Protective Tariff law of 1890 done? Why, it has increased factories all over the United States. It has built new ones, it has enlarged old ones. It has started the pearl button business in this country. [Laughter.] We used to buy our buttons made in Austria by the prison labor of Austria. We are buying our buttons to-day made by the free labor of America. [Applause.] We had 11 button factories before 1890; we have 85 now. We employed 500 men before 1890, at from $12 to $15 a week; we employ 8,000 men now, at from $18 to $35 a week. [Cheers.] The value of the output before 1890 was less than $500,000; it is $3,500,000 to-day. We are making some of the finest cotton and woolen goods that can be made anywhere in the world. You are making them in Massachusetts. They are being made all over New England. Why, we are making lace in Texas, the home of Mills. [Laughter.] We are making velvets and plushes in Philadelphia. When I was here, a

little over a year ago, the complaint in every Democratic newspaper was that the tariff law of 1890 had put the tariff up on plushes, the garment that the poor girl and woman wore. Well, it is true that we did put the tariff up on plushes, but the price has come down. [Applause.] And we are making them in this country, giving employment to hundreds and thousands of workingmen. And we are making tin plate in the United States. [Loud cheers.] We have made in the last fifteen months 13,000,000 pounds. Ah! but they say, you import the black sheets from abroad. Well, we have, some, but we have made 5,000,000 of tin plates from black sheets made in American steel mills by American workingmen. [Applause.] Supposing we did import some of the steel sheets and do the tinning—that gives employment to labor. But what they said was that we could not tin the sheet steel. That was the objection originally to this tin plate tariff. Why, I saw within the last three weeks, in the State of Indiana, in the city of Ellwood, one of the most magnificent tin plate mills in the world, manned by American workingmen, and I saw them make tin plate from the rolled steel down to the bright and shining plate—plate as bright and shining as was ever made in Swansea, Wales. [Applause.] Cannot make tin plate? Why, we can make anything we want to make. [Great cheering.] We could not make it under a Democratic revenue tariff, of course. [Applause.]

"Well, but they said this tariff law of 1890 was going to increase the price of the necessaries of life, and was going to diminish the wages of labor. It has done neither. The necessities of life are cheaper to-day than they were eighteen months ago. The commodities that go into the household of every man and woman are cheaper to-day than they were eighteen months ago, and the price of labor has increased to some extent, as shown by the report of the Senate Committee, consisting of three Republicans and two Democrats, as shown by the reports of the Commissioners of Labor of Indiana, of Massachusetts, of Michigan, and of the State of New York. [Applause.] These reports came so thick and fast that they confused the leaders of the Democratic party, and they have resorted to extraordinary proceedings to break their force. They have gone into the courts. They are persecuting poor Peck. [Laughter.] The whole National Committee is on his back.

"We are just now two years, day after to-morrow, from the passage of this law of 1890. We were just two years in the national campaign of 1844 from the passage of the protective law of 1842. Mr. Polk got in under false pretenses that the Democratic party would not destroy the tariff. When he got in his party did destroy it. Look out for false prophesiers. Men must stand on their platforms made by their national parties. [Applause.] No man is higher than his party. Every man must obey the law of the convention that nominates him. [Ap-

plause.] Aye, did you remember that historical incident? The trial of this year is between the Republicans and the Democrats on the line of protection and free trade. They can't get away from it if they would. They mean free trade and nothing else. Ah! listen. Let me just read one more word that Mr. Webster says. He describes how the mills of Lowell have been closed up; in your own State, way back in 1848, how 800 men were thrown out of employment, how 3,000 in another place in your own State, how 3,000, 4,000, 5,000 in the State of Pennsylvania were dismissed from employment under the tariff of 1846, and then he characterizes this free trade. He says: 'The imports of iron since the new tariff are enormous, . . . and here the increase is in articles of the highest manufacture—that is, articles in which the greatest quantity of labor is incorporated, for there seems to be in this policy'—listen to his words—'there seems to be in this policy a bloodhound scent to follow labor and to run it down and to seize it, and strangle it wherever it may be found.'"

RESULT OF THE REPUBLICAN DEFEAT IN 1892.

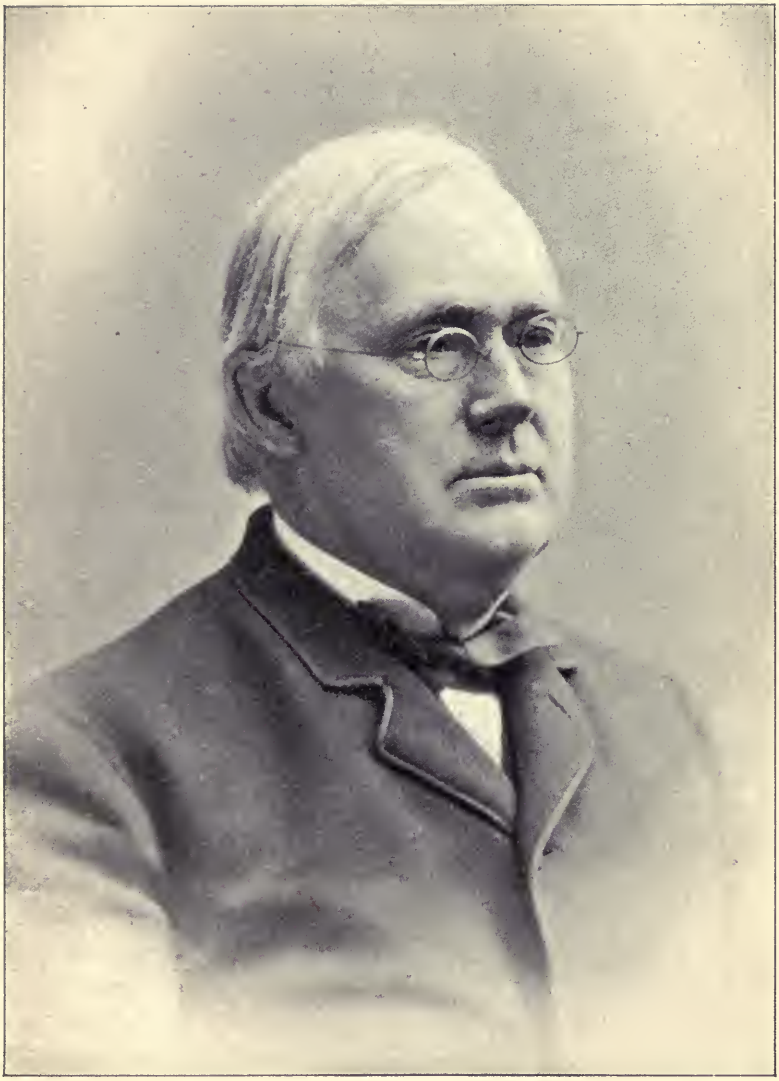
Set forth by Mr. McKinley in Hartford, Conn., April 9th, and Springfield, O., September 10th, 1895.

[Hartford, April 9th.]

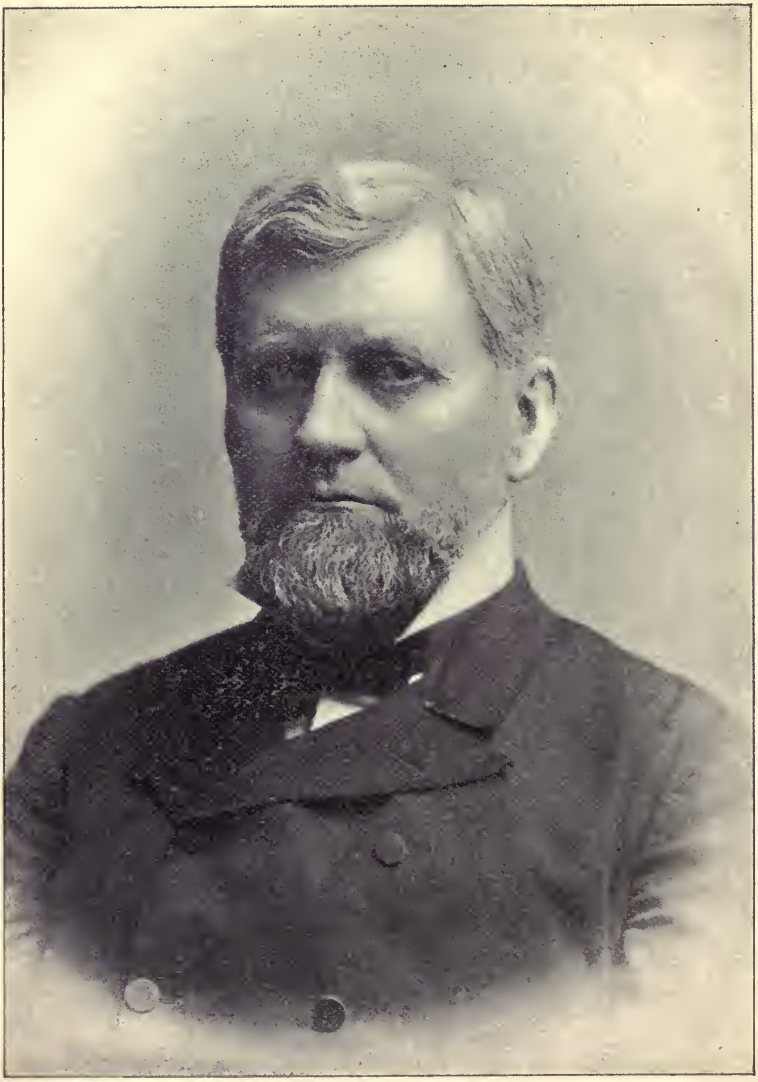
"We resumed specie payments in 1879. From that time up to March 4th, 1893, the yearly average of greenback notes presented for redemption was

about $3,000,000. In 1892 the amount of greenbacks presented for redemption was $5,352,243, and during the same year $3,773,600 in treasury notes were presented for redemption. In 1893, after the change in administration, there were presented for redemption $55,319,125 in greenbacks and $46,781,220 in treasury notes, or a total of $102,100,345. Thus there was presented for redemption in the first year paper money aggregating nearly three times the volume of all that had been presented in the previous fourteen years. What was the occasion for this sudden desire of the holders of greenbacks and treasury notes to have them redeemed in gold? Was it not a lack of confidence? Was it not from the known fact that the proposed legislation of the Democratic party would tend to destroy our prosperity at home, and probably result in a failure to collect enough money to meet the current expenses and obligations of the government?

"Was it not from the fact that the revenues had fallen short in meeting the expenditures of the government by $117,000,000, and that the treasury had been compelled to borrow that vast sum, and has since been compelled to borrow $62,000,000 more? During the previous years the people had been so strong in their faith in the government that they were satisfied with any kind of money issued by the government. The government had been able to produce such a financial equilibrium that the people



HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.



HON. W. B. ALLISON.

were utterly indifferent whether they were given gold, silver, or paper. Even during Mr. Cleveland's first administration, confidence was unshaken because there was no Democratic Congress to disturb Republican legislation or overthrow or disturb the sound financial policy, which was established by the Republican party. There had been no change in the status of the greenbacks or the treasury notes; there had been no financial legislation, except the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Act which simply stopped the buying of silver.

"It was the same government. There had been simply a change of administration of the affairs of the government. One pledged to a new policy had been given power and hence came the universal lack of confidence; not a lack of confidence in the people, or in our institutions, but a lack of confidence in those charged with the administration to conduct the government with safety and success. From March 4th, 1881, down to March 4th, 1893, thanks to the Funding Act of Hayes, Sherman, and Windom, the government of the United States had been calling in its bonds and paying them off from the surplus revenue in the treasury. Instead of the people demanding gold for their greenbacks the government was engaged in paying off the bonded indebtedness of the government in gold. The same work went on during Mr. Cleveland's first administration, but not without opposition from him. It will be remembered that the public debt, which his

administration paid off was paid from the revenues of the government collected under Republican legislation. President Harrison paid off $296,000,000 of the public debt and turned over to Mr. Cleveland's administration $124,000,000 surplus. There was not a moment from the inauguration of President Harrison to the second inauguration of Mr. Cleveland in which we did not collect for every day of every year sufficient revenues to pay every demand and obligation of the government.

"President Harrison's administration was a bond-paying, not a bond-issuing administration. The latest bond issue of President Cleveland, of $63,000,000, was made in secret with the great financiers of Europe, through their agents in the United States. It was made out of the sight of the public; made upon terms which were harsh and humiliating to the great government of the United States; made at a lower price than the existing bonds of the government were being sold in the open markets of this country and the great commercial centres of the world, and made at a higher rate of interest than that paid on bonds sold six months before. The bonds under contract to-day are selling in advance of the price received by the government, both in this country and in England. The President sold the bonds at 104½, the syndicate sold them at 112¼, a gain of 7¾, and the subscribers to the syndicate are now selling their bonds at from 116 to 120.

"It was a hard bargain for the government, but it

is not the only hard bargain we have had to bear. There have been a long series of them. The hard-bargain business commenced in November, 1892, and the bargains have been getting harder and harder ever since. Out of it all, however, we get some faint ray of satisfaction. It must be gratifying to every American citizen to observe that the people of our own country and of England both place a higher estimate upon the bonds of the United States than do those who are temporarily administering its government. We ought to realize by this time that we should not do our work nor make our loans in Europe. Let us place what options we have with our own capitalists, and our orders with our own manufacturers, who, in the past, have been always abundantly able to meet every need and demand of the government and of the people.

"The people have before them in the near future a greater and broader contest to wage, which will give the control of the government, as I believe, back to the Republican party. Until then we can do nothing but wait, as patiently as we can, and submit to the inevitable, hard as it is.

"If anybody thinks that our wage-earners, our farmers, our trades-people, and the great masses of our countrymen, in common with them, are going to be satisfied permanently with the adjustment of their wages and prices, business and markets, to the present Democratic standard, they will very soon discover their fatal error.

"The people believe in the industrial policy which promotes, not retards, American enterprises, and dignifies, not degrades, American labor, and they will take power away from any party that stands in the way of the success of that policy. [Applause.] They believe in protection and reciprocity, and will give power to the party which wisely and fearlessly maintains them, and will take power away from the party which has weakened or destroyed them. They believe that we should produce our own sugar, make our own tin plate, and we mean to do both. They believe we should do all our other work at home without being forced to pay honest labor starvation wages. [Great applause.] They do not propose to give up permanently anything they have gained in the industrial world in the last thirty years, and they would rather hold it by retaining a Protective Tariff than to hold it by reducing wages below the true American standard. [Prolonged applause.]

"We want, above all, to be Americans, in the truest and best sense; and why should not Americans legislate for themselves? Whose country is this, anyhow? [Tremendous applause and laughter.] We want neither European policies engrafted into our laws, nor European conditions forced upon our people; and we will have neither the one nor the other. It is often said that we want enough money to meet the needs of business, but just now the thing we need most is business itself, and rest assured, the more business we do the more money we will have."

Mr. Milner, of Plainfield—"Amen."

"We know just what we want, for we have had it before. [Applause.] We know when we lost it, and how we lost it [laughter]; and knowing this, we know just how to get it back again. [Renewed laughter; applause.]

"Here is a case were knowledge is power; and I have never known the people quite so eager to vote with their new information and recent business experience to guide them. Rest assured when at length they do have an opportunity they will vote back into power that great party of protection which encompasses in its legislation and policies the good of all the section and of all the people of the whole country. [Tremendous applause.] And that policy will come back to stay.

"What we want in this country is a general resumption of business. We want the restoration of prosperity and confidence which we enjoyed before the change. Business at home will bring it, and it will bring good money, too, in abundance, and neither will come in any other way. You will not restore active business and good wages by a policy which transplants any part of our established business to Europe. No matter what kind of a currency we have it will not rekindle idle furnaces and employ idle men so long as we go abroad for our products which can be made at home because of the cheaper labor prevailing there. If we do our work at home our labor at home will be employed, and the wages

paid at home will be spent at home. This is the philosophy of protection, and it cannot be abandoned, amended or abated."

[Springfield, O., September 10th, 1895.]

"My friends, there is one objection to the law, if there were no others, which must make its permanency impossible. It fails to raise the needed revenues for the daily expenses of the government. That would condemn it in the judgment of the American people whatever differing views they might have on the question of protection and free trade. The law from the date of its enactment to the present time—and it is now a year old—has not raised enough money from customs duties and internal revenue combined to meet the necessary expenses of the government. The result has been a monthly deficiency. No law like that can be approved by the American people, for they prefer Protective Tariffs to an increased and increasing bonded indebtedness, and they would rather have a safe balance in the treasury than a deficiency, and even a surplus, to a tainted public credit.

"The operation of that law in respect to its revenues alone, independent of any other consideration, is vitally important in this discussion. It is worth while to know from official sources the revenue-raising power, both of the law of 1890 and that of 1894. The people themselves know from their own experience the difference between the two laws in respect

to their own incomes and the general business of the country. It is unjustly charged that the Republican law of 1890 was incapable of supplying the needed revenues for the government, and that the deficiencies in the treasury, which have occurred since the incoming Cleveland administration, were directly traceable to it. The Republican tariff law went into effect in October, 1890. The receipts under it for the first nine months, commencing October 1st, 1890, to July 1st, 1891, were: From customs, $153,287,831.47; from internal revenue, $106,436,500.01; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were $22,118,356.21. The total receipts for that period were $281,842,687.69. The expenditures for that period of nine months, from October 1st, 1890, to July 1st, 1891, were $280,710,748.34. The receipts, therefore, exceeded the expenditures by $1,131,939.35. There was no deficiency up to this time. The receipts under the Republican law of 1890, from July 1st, 1891, to July 1st, 1892, were: From customs, $177,452,964.15; from internal revenue, $153,971,072.57; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were $23,513,747.52; total receipts, $354,937,784.24. The total expenditures of the government for that year were $345,023,330.58, showing an excess of receipts over expenditures of $9,914,453.66. There was no deficiency up to this time. The receipts under the Republican tariff law for the fiscal year commencing July 1st, 1892, and ending July 1st, 1893, were: From customs, $203,355,016.73;

from internal revenue, $161,027,623.93; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were, $21,436,988.12; total receipts for fiscal year of 1893, $385,819,628.-78. The total expenditures for that year were $383,-477,954.49, an excess of receipts over expenditures of $2,341,674.29. There was no deficiency up to this time.

"Now, in that year, 1893, on March 4th, the present Democratic administration came into power, pledged to reverse the protective policy of the government, which had existed for more than thirty years. Then there were distrust and consternation in every business circle. No business man knew what to do, for he could not predict what the party in power would do. Business collapsed. Panic and failures followed. Then the receipts commenced to fall off, as I will show you. The receipts from July 1st, 1893, to July 1st, 1894, during all of which period the Cleveland administration was in control of every branch of the government, were: From customs, $131,818,530.62; from internal revenue, $147,111,-232.81; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were $18,792,255.82; total receipts $297,722,019.25. The total expenditures during that period were $367,525,279.83. Here occurs the first deficiency. Here is the first time that the receipts fell short of the expenditures of the government, the deficiency being $69,803,260.58. Is it any wonder that there was a deficiency when we consider the condition of panic, poverty, and business paralysis which prevailed at that

time and which immediately followed the restoration to full power of the Democratic party? The law continued in operation until August, 1894, and for the months of July and August, 1894, the receipts from customs were: $26,828,595.47; from internal revenue, $25,252,094.89; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were $2,715,971.13; total receipts, $54,796,661.49. The total expenditures for those two months were $68,305,219.38, a deficiency of $13,508,557.89. On August 28th, 1894, the Brice-Gorman Act went into operation. The receipts under that law from September 1st, 1894, to September 1st, 1895, were: From customs, $161,391,367.76; from internal revenue, $115,877,954.01; the receipts from miscellaneous sources were $15,089,503.98; total receipts for that year, $292,358,825.75. The expenditures during this first year were $358,953,-315.23, an excess of expenditures over receipts for the first year of this Democratic Tariff Act of $66,-594,489.48. During the first year, under the Brice-Gorman law, the receipts from customs and internal revenue were $276,269,321.77. During the first fiscal year, under the Republican Tariff law, receipts from customs and internal revenue were $331,424,-036.72, a difference in favor of the Republican law of $55,000,000. Under the Republican law sugar was free; under the Democratic law sugar is taxed. Even in the last fiscal year when the Republican law was in operation, with universal distress throughout the country, there was more money collected from

customs duties and internal revenue than was collected during the first year under the Democratic Brice-Gorman Tariff law.

"The statement of the condition of the United States Treasury, on the 31st day of August 1895, shows an excess of expenditures over receipts for the month of August of $3,693,103.30.

"During the first nine months of the Tariff law of 1890 the receipts from customs and internal revenue equaled within $17,000,000 the total receipts from customs and internal revenue of twelve months under the Brice-Gorman law. The average monthly receipts from customs and internal revenue, under the Republican law, for the first nine months, was over $28,000,000, and under the Brice-Gorman law was $33,000,000.

"The average monthly receipts from customs duties during the operation of the Republican Tariff law were $17,066,774.67 ; the average monthly receipts from customs duties under the Democratic Tariff law of 1894 were $13,167,533.63—a difference in favor of the Republican law of $3,899,241.04 per month. One thing must not be forgotten—that at no time from the passage of the Republican Tariff law of 1890 down to the close of President Harrison's administration did that law fail to raise all the revenue needed to meet every expense of the general government, and during no part of that period did the gold reserve fall below $100,000,000. The revenue-raising power of the Republican Tariff law was only

crippled and impaired after the country had placed in power a full Democratic administration pledged to overthrow it.

"It is loudly proclaimed through the Democratic press that prosperity has come. I sincerely hope that it has. Whatever prosperity we have has been a long time coming, and after nearly three years of business depression, a ruinous panic, and a painful and widespread suffering among the people, I pray that we may be at the dawn of better times and of enduring prosperity. I have believed it would come, in some measure, with every successive Republican victory. I have urged for two years past that the election of a Republican Congress would strip the Democratic party of power to further cripple the enterprises of the country, and would be the beginning of a return of confidence, and that general and permanent prosperity could only come when the Democratic party was voted out of power in every branch of the national government, and the Republican party voted in, pledged to repeal their destructive and un-American legislation, which has so seriously impaired the prosperity of the people and the revenues and credit of the government.

"It is a most significant fact, however, that the activity in business we have now is chiefly confined to those branches of industry which the Democratic party was forced to leave with some protection, notably, iron and steel. There is no substantial improvement in those branches of domestic industry

where the lower duties, or no duties of the Democratic tariff, have sharpened and increased foreign competition. These industries are still lifeless; and if not lifeless are unsatisfactory and unprofitable, both to capital and labor.

"There is a studied effort in certain quarters to show that the apparent prosperity throughout the country is the result of Democratic tariff legislation. I do not think that those who assert this honestly and sincerely believe it. It is worth remembering, and can never be forgotten, that there was no revival of business, no return of confidence or gleam of hope in business circles until the elections of 1894, which, by unprecedented majorities, gave the popular branch of Congress to the Republican party, and took away from the Democratic party the power to do further harm to the industries of the country and the occupations of the people. This was the aim, meaning, and purpose of that vote. With the near and certain return of the Republican party to full possession of power in the United States, comes naturally and logically increased faith in the country and an assurance to business men that for years to come they will have rest and relief from Democratic incompetency in the management of the industrial and financial affairs of the government. Whatever prosperity we are having (and just how much nobody seems to know) and with all hoping for the best, and hoping that it may stay and increase, and yet all breathless with suspense, is in spite of Democratic legislation, and not be-

cause of it. You would suppose in reading some of the Democratic newspapers and Democratic literature of the country that there has been a wonderful increase of wages, and the Democratic leaders are claiming it as the direct result of Democratic tariff legislation. It is true there has been an increase in wages in some branches of industry, but a careful analysis will show that wherever the increase has been had, it has been in those departments of industry where protection was not wholly withdrawn or the least withdrawn, or where the home markets are secure from foreign competition; and where there is the most protection there will be found the best wages. Considering the condition in which the country has been for two years and a half, any amount of work resumed, no matter how little; any increase in the demand for labor, no matter how insignificant, would mean more and better wages. For two years and a half wages were not only abnormally low, but employment was so scarce and employés so plenty that they could be had upon any terms and at any price. It was not a question of wage; it was a question of work; and men, rather than accept charity, and in order that they might give their families even scanty support, were ready to work at any price and at any employment. It must be remembered also that in the fewest branches of industry, if any, the wage scale has been restored to what it was in 1892. The increase of wages in 1895, much as it may be and gratifying as it is, does not equal the decrease of

wages from 1892 to 1895; and there is yet a vast difference, as every workingman realizes, between the price paid labor now and the price paid labor before the Democratic party took control, in March, 1893. This difference represents much, very much, to the workingmen of the country, and deprives many firesides of the comforts they enjoyed before 1893. Moreover, not only are the wages less now than in 1892, but a vast number of men employed then are out of employment now. I do not propose to make comparisons between the wages paid labor now and the wages paid labor prior to 1893. That is unnecessary. Every man who labors in this country knows whether he is employed now as satisfactorily and steadily as then, and whether he is paid as well now as he was when Republican policies were in operation during Republican administrations. Every workingman knows what his pay-roll is now, and knows what his pay-roll was then; and he knows it better than anybody can tell him; and he knows better than anybody else the exact measure of difference between the wages he receives now and the wages he received then. Nor is he in doubt as to the cause of this difference. He knows when he lost it and how he lost it; and he will vote at every opportunity in opposition to the party whose policy he believes produced it. This subject, therefore, can well be left with the laboring men of the country.

"No one can observe the shrinkage of the wool production in the United States without being pro-

foundly impressed with the injustice and crime of that part of the tariff law of 1894, which places wool upon the free list. Among the heaviest losses since 1893 are those of Pennsylvania, which has fallen from 9,823,296 pounds to 5,899,867 pounds; Texas, from 30,341,857 pounds to 22,669,809 pounds; West Virginia, from 4,627,887 pounds to 2,149,393 pounds; Ohio, from 21,893,625 pounds to 18,534,610 pounds; Michigan, from 16,370,536 pounds to 12,140,524 pounds; California, from 26,808,444 pounds to 23,153,956 pounds; and New York, from 9,328,300 pounds to 6,250,392 pounds. The total product of the United States for 1893 was 348,538,138 pounds. In 1894, 325,210,712 pounds, and in 1895, 294,296,726 pounds. It is no wonder that the wool-growers of Ohio, in their convention at Columbus, last Wednesday, September 4th, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"'*Resolved*, That the singling out of wool among so-called raw materials for sacrifice by the late Congress, while the "less important ones were cared for and protected, was an outrage upon agriculture, involving far greater evils than party perfidy and party dishonor," and should be resented at the polls and elsewhere in every proper way.'

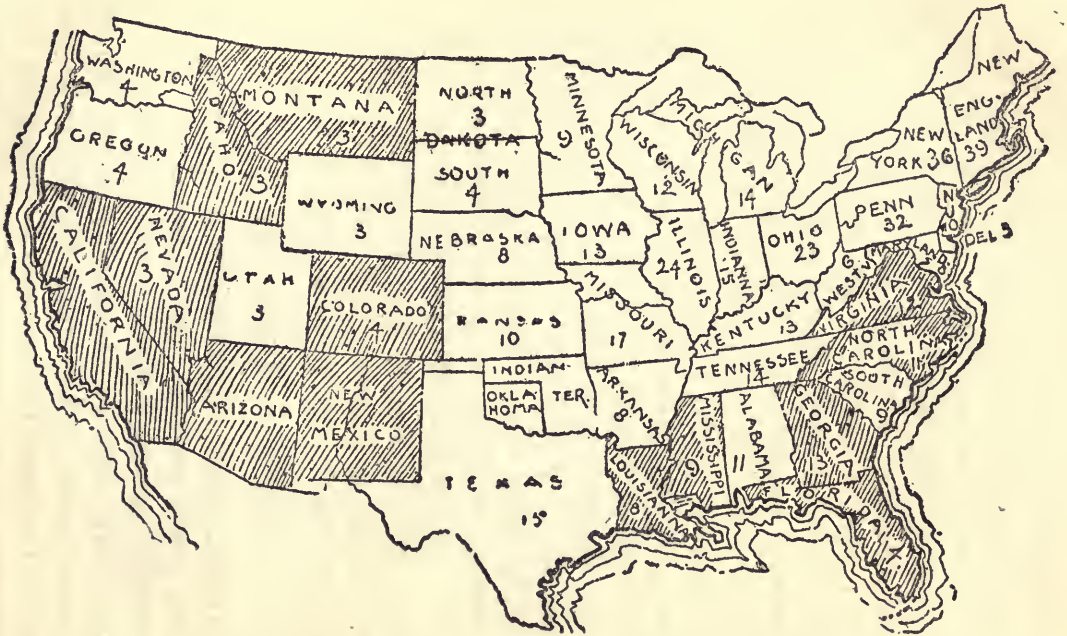
"Mr. Brice will not be long in discovering that the farmers of the State of Ohio do not accept the law of the trusts and combinations as the final settlement of this great economic question. This subject can well be left with the intelligent farmers of Ohio.

They will have the opportunity at the coming election to directly commend or condemn our junior Senator in striking down one of their greatest industries and chief sources of revenue. They will not forget that our candidate for Senator, ex-Governor Foraker, is opposed to free wool, but favors full and just protection to this most important industry."

THE TWO PARTIES ON SILVER.

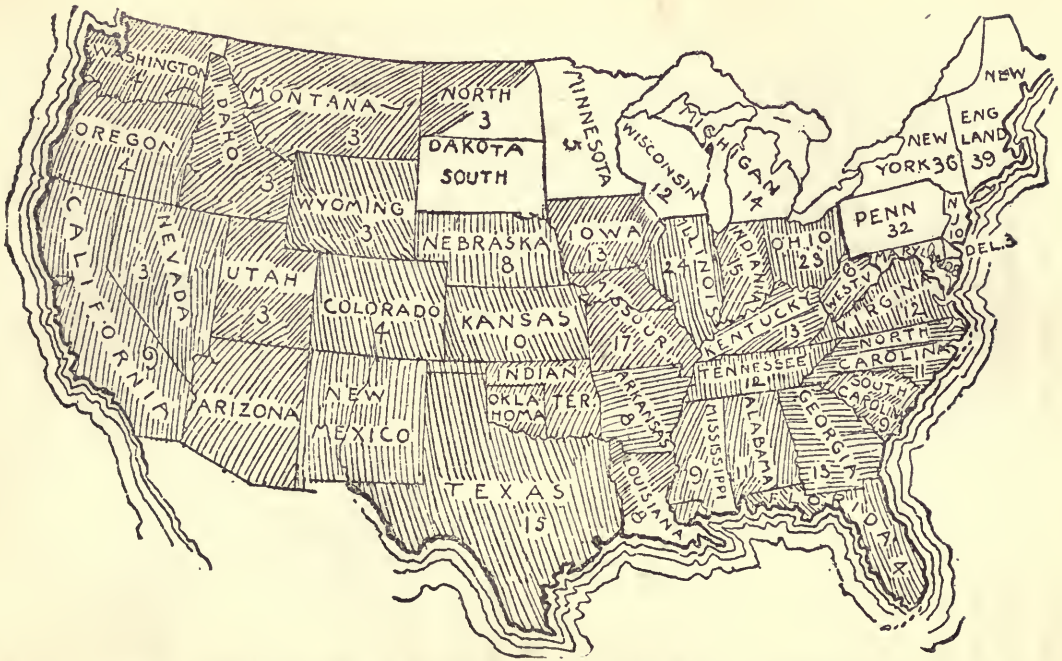
The two skeleton maps show far more impressively than any array of figures could how the two parties stand on the question of free-silver coinage and honest money. On the Republican map all the States in which the Republican party is for free coinage, and also all the States in which it is doubtful on the subject and has dodged or straddled it, are shaded. The figures on each State show the number of electoral votes to which it is entitled, the delegates in National Convention being double that number. At a glance it is seen that the battle has been fought and won in all the great States of the North and West as far as the western line of the Dakotas and Kansas, and also in Oregon, Wyoming, and Washington, and that Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, iron and coal-producing States, have broken through the centre of the South, while West Virginia and South Carolina have also joined the right side.

But the Southern States are not needed to elect a President. The solid body of Northern States be-



REPUBLICAN ATTITUDE ON THE MONEY QUESTION.

STATES LEFT WHITE HAVE DECLARED FOR SOUND MONEY. STATES SHADED HAVE DODGED OR DECLARED FOR FREE SILVER.



DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDE ON THE MONEY QUESTION.

STATES LEFT WHITE ARE FOR SOUND MONEY. STATES SHADED ARE FOR FREE SILVER. STATES HALF SHADED HAVE DODGED.

tween the Atlantic and the western border of the Dakotas and Kansas, now all Republican, including Missouri, West Virginia, and Kentucky, are of one mind on the silver question. They cast, including Wyoming, 302 electoral votes, or more than two-thirds of the whole, without any from the South or the Pacific Coast. In all these States the Republicans had at the last election a plurality, and in all except Kentucky, Missouri, and Nebraska, which have thirty-eight votes, it had a clear majority over Democrats, Populists, and Silver men added together.

The Democratic map presents a vast dark body with a few white spots. The States that have declared against free-silver coinage are white—namely, the eleven Eastern States, Minnesota, Michigan, and South Dakota. The States which have not yet declared or have evaded the question are half shaded—namely, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Louisiana. All the other States are fully shaded, the Democratic party in each of these States having declared in convention or by choice of delegates for free-silver coinage. Including all the undecided and doubtful, the anti-silver Democrats might muster over a third of the delegates in Convention, but far short of a majority. No man of practical sense can look on the map and imagine that the almost solid Democracy of the West and South is going to yield its passionately-cherished opinions to the small fraction of the party at the East.

The figures do not quite tell the whole story. For generations the seat of power in the Democratic party, its home and its citadel, has been the South. The Democrats of the North and West have been a subject race, from boyhood educated to obey the dictation of Southern leaders, to accept and fight for their theories, and to take without flinching the popular disfavor and the annual beating which support of such theories involved in most Northern States. It is past conception that a Northern or Eastern Democrat should hope to defy and resist the power which has ruled the party for more than half a century. The great body of its electoral votes has always come from the South, far more than half its votes in Congress, nearly all of its experienced men and practiced leaders in either House. But the home and citadel of the Republican party has always been the free North, originally the Eastern and Central States, between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, including later their many children of the West. In that region the convictions of the Republican party are formed, its electoral votes are secured, and most of its votes in Congress. The opinions of the East and Central North are as certain to shape the action of the Republican as the opinions of the South are to shape the action of the Democratic party.

Let business men throughout the country contrast these two pictures, and it will not take them long to judge which party they can trust in any question of money or finance. The ideas of the South are those

of the plantation. The Republican party is of necessity, as it ever has been, the instrument by which the millions of wage-earners and of business men have defended and promoted their interests. The North tests every question of money by the needs of the wage-earners and the business men. For more than thirty years they have been perpetually assailed and often imperilled by the theories and crazy notions of the Democratic party, never more unreasoning or more dangerous than now, when it has gone mad over free coinage of silver. To intrust power to such a party was the height of folly in 1892, when its destructive capacity had not been tested. To-day it would be for wage-earners and business men an act of impossible madness.

CHAPTER XIV.

SOME VIEWS ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

Humorous speeches—The feeder of Great Britain—A leap in the dark—Give the officials scope—Importance of agriculture—Arbitration—Respect and retrospect—Let England take care of herself.

IT will be interesting to quote a few paragraphs from the humorous speeches made by Governor McKinley. In support of the tariff commission in 1882 he aroused the attention of the country, and indicated to old politicians that a new force was arising in national politics, and that it was well to watch the career of William McKinley. In the House he said then:

"Who has demanded a tariff for revenue only, such as is advocated by our friends on the other side? What portion of our citizens? What part of our population? Not the agriculturist; not the laborer; not the mechanic; not the manufacturer; not a petition before us, to my knowledge, asking for an adjustment of tariff rates to a revenue basis. England wants it, demands it—not for our good, but hers; for she is more anxious to main-

tain her old position of supremacy than she is to promote the interests and welfare of the people of this republic, and a great party in this country voices her interests. Our tariffs interfere with her profits. They keep at home what she wants. We are independent of her; not she of us. She would have America the feeder of Great Britain, or, as Lord Sheffield put it, she would be 'the monopoly of our consumption and the carriage of our produce.' She would manufacture for us, and permit us to raise wheat and corn for her. We are satisfied to do the latter, but unwilling to concede to her the monopoly of the former.

"Manufacturers, farmers, laboring men, indeed all the industrial classes in the United States, are severally and jointly interested in the maintenance of the present or a better tariff law which shall recognize in all its force the protection of American producers and American productions. Our first duty is to our own citizens.

"Free trade may be suitable to Great Britain and its peculiar social and political structure, but it has no place in this republic, where classes are unknown, and where caste has long since been banished; where equality is a rule; where labor is dignified and honorable; where education and improvement are the individual striving of every citizen, no matter what may be the accident of his birth, or the poverty of his early surroundings. Here the mechanic of to-day is the manufacturer of a few years hence. Under

such conditions, free trade can have no abiding place here. We are doing very well; no other nation has done better, or makes a better showing in the world's balance sheet. We ought to be satisfied with the progress thus far made, and contented with our outlook for the future. We know what we have done and what we can do under the policy of protection. We have had some experience with a revenue tariff, which neither inspires hope, nor courage, nor confidence. Our own history condemns the policy we oppose, and it is the best vindication of the policy which we advocate. It needs no other. It furnished us in part the money to prosecute the war for the Union to a successful termination; it has assisted largely in furnishing the revenue to meet our great public expenditures and diminish with unparalleled rapidity our great national debt; it has contributed in securing to us an unexampled credit; it has developed the resources of the country and quickened the energies of our people; it has made us what the nation should be, independent and self-reliant; it has made us industrious in peace, and secured us independence in war; and we find ourselves in the beginning of the second century of the republic without a superior in industrial arts, without an equal in commercial prosperity, with a sound financial system, with an overflowing treasury, blest at home and at peace with all mankind. Shall we reverse the policy which has rewarded us with such magnificent results? Shall we abandon the policy which pursued for twenty

years, has produced such unparalleled growth and prosperity ?"

The Morrison tariff bill, which proposed a horizontal reduction of the Act of 1883, was under discussion in the House on April 30th, 1884, and in closing his speech in opposition, Representative McKinley said in conclusion :

"Every one of the leading industries of this country will be injuriously affected by this proposed change, and no man can predict the extent of it. The producers of cottons and woolens, of iron, steel, and glass, must suffer disastrously if this bill is enacted into law ; and the proprietors of these establishments are neither robbers nor highwaymen, as the free-traders love to characterize them. They have been real benefactors, and while some of them have grown opulent, in the main they do not represent the rich classes of the country. Their entire capital is in active employment. Many of them are large borrowers. Your proposed action will affect the values of their plants, unless except for the purposes employed, will diminish the value of their invested capital, will decrease their sales and the ability of their customers to buy, and in many cases result in total overthrow and bankruptcy. You can do this, if you will. You have the power in this House to accomplish this great wrong ; but let me beg you to pause before you commence the work of destroying a great economic system under which the country has grown and prospered far in advance of every

other nation of the world. A system established by the founders of the government, recognized by the first Congress which ever sat and deliberated in council in this nation, sanctioned in the second Act ever passed by Congress, upheld by our greatest statesmen, living or dead, vindicated by great results and justified by all our experience, achieving industrial triumphs without a parallel in the world's history. Its maintenance is yet essential to our progress and prosperity. The step proposed is a grave one. No man on this floor can determine its consequences or predict its results.

"It is a leap in the dark. No interest is pressing it. No national necessity demands it. No true American wants it. If it is a party necessity to enforce Democratic doctrines and discipline a little segment of the party, you can afford to wait, or clear your decks of mutineers in some other way: let the ship be saved, and punish your insubordinate associates without endangering great interests temporarily confided to your care. The interests of this great people are higher and greater than the ambitions or interests of any party. The free-traders have already demonstrated that they are in control of the Democratic party, and they are a large majority of that political organization; but they are happily in the minority in this country. They may dictate the policy here by party caucus, they may disturb the business of the country while yet in power, but they will not, under the policy

they are now pursuing, be long permitted to dominate the popular branch of Congress, happily the only branch of the government which they now control."

On July 14th, 1886, there was under discussion a resolution from the Ways and Means Committee directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay a part of the surplus—which had given Grover Cleveland so much trouble, but which has not existed in his present administration—on the public debt. Major McKinley made an extended speech on the subject which teemed with figures. His remarks then are particularly important now, showing as they do that he did not believe the hands of the President should be tied; in other words were he in Congress now he would be active in opposition to the Democratic and Populistic proposition to repeal the authority to issue bonds. The Major said, among other things:

"I believe it to be a judicious thing to give the officers charged with the management of the financial affairs of the government, charged by the people, the power to call the bonds or withhold a call for bonds whenever the condition of the treasury will permit the one or the other. The hands of the President and Secretary should not be tied; they should have full power to act under the laws as they are, and then be held to the highest responsibility and strictest accountability. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, unless the amendment I offered at the beginning of this discussion, and another amendment

which will be offered by the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Reed), and still another which will be presented by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Long), shall be adopted by this house, I shall feel constrained to give a negative vote on the resolution presented by the Committee on Ways and Means. Of course, we cannot help, I cannot help, no gentleman on this side can help, the Democratic party voting to-day a want of confidence in its own administration. We cannot prevent you from passing a vote of condemnation on the President of the United States and his Secretary, and that is what this resolution means if it becomes a law, and that is what you are doing when you vote for it."

Major McKinley has always appreciated the importance of the agriculturist in our national life. He delivered a most eulogistic speech before the Ohio State Grange, on December 13th, 1887, of which the following are extracts:

"Farmers could manage to exist rather generously, if not luxuriously, without us, but we could not well exist without them.

"Agriculture may fairly be classed as the foundation of all industries; it is intimately related to every field of labor. No matter what our employment, we must draw our life every day afresh from the soil, and our daily necessities can be supplied from no other source. All trade, all commerce, all business is but the result, direct or remote, of the industrial pursuit in which you are engaged. Our

city, in its earlier and later progress, is peculiarly the offspring of agriculture. From it has been drawn our chief income; it has been the source of our revenue. We have been doing little else for thirty years but meeting the demands and supplying the wants of the farmers.

"Tell me how the land is held, and I can tell you almost to a certainty the political system of the country, its form of government, and its political character. When land is divided into small farms, the property, as a rule, of those who till them, there is an inducement, ambition, and facility for independence, for progress, for wider thought and higher attainments in individual, industrial life. Over such a population no government but a free one, under equal laws and equal rights, with equal opportunities, can exist for any length of time. The small farm, thoroughly worked, was the ancient model, commended by the early sages and philosophers; as old Vergil put it, 'Praise a large farm, cultivate a small one.' We must avoid in this country the holding of large tracts of land by non-resident owners for speculative purposes, and set our faces like flint against alien land-holding in small or large tracts. Our public domain must be re-dedicated to our own people, and neither foreign syndicates nor domestic corporations must be permitted to divert it from the hallowed purpose of actual settlement by real farmers.

"One of the great lessons of history is that agri-

culture cannot rise to its highest perfection and reach its fullest development without the aid of commerce, manufactures, and mechanical arts. All are essential to the healthy growth and highest advancement of the others; the progress of one insures the prosperity of another. There are no conflicts, there should be no antagonisms. They are indispensable to each other. Whatever enfeebles one is certain to cripple the rest.

"Let us accept the advice of the fathers of the Republic, heed their patriotic counsels, walk steadfastly in their faith, preserve the mutual helpfulness and harmonies of the industries, and maintain our independence, national, industrial, and individual, against all the world, and thus advance to the high destiny that devolves upon us and our posterity. I bespeak for you a pleasant and profitable meeting, and, with thanks and best wishes to all, bid you good-night."

To the laboring interests and to employers as well it is important to know what Major McKinley's views are on arbitration. They are shown in the closing paragraph of his speech on that subject in the House of Representatives, on April 2d, 1886:

"I believe, Mr. Chairman, in arbitration, as in principle; I believe it should prevail in the settlement of international differences. It represents a higher civilization than the arbitrament of war. I believe it is in close accord with the best thought and sentiment of mankind; I believe it is the true

way of settling differences between labor and capital; I believe it will bring both to a better understanding, uniting them closer in interest, and promoting better relations, avoiding force, avoiding unjust exactions and oppression, avoiding the loss of earnings to labor, avoiding disturbances to trade and transportation; and if this House can contribute in the smallest measure, by legislative expression or otherwise, to these ends, it will deserve and receive the gratitude of all men who love peace, good order, justice, and fair play."

The Republican Presidential candidate delivered a speech on "Prospect and Retrospect," on September 14th, 1887, before the Mahoning Valley Pioneer Association, of which this is a striking paragraph:

"We can hardly conceive that the next generation will be so rich in fruitage, so prolific in invention, so marvelous in achievement, so wonderful in its work; but who can tell? There seem to be a brain and a conscience and a manhood always ready to rise up and discover, at the appropriate moment, the forces and elements necessary in the onward march of mankind. The things you and I have seen, great as they are, may be insignificant contrasted with the things unseen and yet to be developed. The ax and the rifle, the courage and the conscience, the brain and the brawn, the faith in God of the pioneer, lay the foundations of the splendid institutions which make possible our matchless achievements. The New England school-house, which came simultaneous with his

cabin and stockade, was our flaming torch, which, carried grandly through the century, has filled the whole world with its light."

The Home Market Club, of Boston, invited Major McKinley to address them on February 9th, 1888. At that time he spoke regarding free raw materials. The following selection from that speech, in view of the events since it was made, is most striking:

"A revenue reformer who had recently visited your State, said to me a few days ago, that Massachusetts had already received all the benefits she could from protection, and that now her interests as well as her inclinations lay in the other direction—that of free trade. Enlarging upon it he was forced to confess that the manufacturing thrift and activity everywhere seen in your commonwealth, the high rank you had taken, and the perfection reached in production, were the outcome of the system of American protection; but now free trade, or its equivalent or approximation, would place you in a position of commanding advantage over those portions of the country marked with less industrial development. If I were to admit the truth of my friend's discourse —which I do not—the situation would, in simple language, be this: Massachusetts owes her proud industrial position to a Protective Tariff, which she has enjoyed by the help of other States not so far advanced in manufactures, and which have neither so long nor so advantageously enjoyed its benefits. Now she does not need it for herself, and is unwill-

ing that any of her sister States shall profit by its assistance and enjoy its blessings. She used it to attain her high commercial position and manufacturing development. The newer States are now moving upward on the ladder which carried her before and above them. Now, as my friend would have it, she is ready to push the ladder down with all that is upon it. [Laughter.] This I know to be a base and ungenerous reflection upon Massachusetts, which her industrial people will be quick to resent, and which nothing in her behavior in the past would justify."

On this same occasion Major McKinley delivered these additional gems of thought:

"But if free wool will secure cheaper clothing to the people, by the same process of reasoning, cloth, duty free, and untaxed ready-made clothing will diminish the price still further, and give to the consumer the very consummation of low prices and cheap wearing apparel. If every consideration but the mere cheapness of the fabric be discarded, then no reason can be found why, with free wool, there should not come free cloth and free clothing. [Applause.] Things, however, are sometimes the dearest, when nominally they are the cheapest. The selling price of an article is not the only measure; the ability to buy, the coin with which to purchase, is an important and essential element, and must not be dismissed from our consideration. If a man is without means and without employment, and there

is none of the latter to be had, everything is dear to him. The price is of the smallest consequence, however cheap, if it is beyond his reach. If my only means is my labor, and that is unemployed, whether things are cheap or dear is of little moment to me.

"The manufacturers of New England, and more particularly the skilled labor employed by them, need a Protective Tariff, and require it equally with the industries and labor of other States. It is imperatively demanded, not only here, but in every section of the Union, if the present price of labor is to be continued and maintained. Your industries cannot compete successfully, even in this market, with the industries of England, France, Belgium and Germany, without a tariff, so long as the price paid labor here exceeds the price paid labor there from 50 to 75 per cent. This inequality can only be met by a tariff upon the products of cheap labor, high enough to compensate for the difference. You cannot compete except upon equal conditions and with like cost of the competing product. Free trade will either equalize the conditions by reducing your labor to that of the rival laborer on the other side, or it will close your factories and workshops and destroy home production and competition.

"Free trade means cheap labor, and cheap labor means diminished comforts—diminished capacity to buy, poor and enfeebled industries and a dependent condition generally. And every step taken in

the direction of free trade, beginning with free raw material, is an advance, and a very long one and a very straight one, in the direction of reduced wages and a changed condition of the American workingman, not confined to the labor engaged in preparing raw materials for use, but will widen, and in the end enter every department of labor and skill.

"I would secure the American market to the American producer [applause], and I would not hesitate to raise the duties whenever necessary to secure this patriotic end. [Applause.] I would not have an idle man or an idle mill or an idle spindle in this country if, by holding exclusively the American market, we could keep them employed and running. [Applause.] Every yard of cloth imported here makes a demand for one yard less of American fabrication.

"Let England take care of herself; let France look after her interests; let Germany take care of her own people, but in God's name let Americans look after America! [Loud applause.] Every ton of steel imported diminishes that much of home production. Every blow struck on the other side upon an article which comes here in competition with like articles produced here, makes the demand for one blow less at home. Every day's labor upon the foreign products sent to the United States takes one day's labor from American workingmen. I would give the day's labor to our own, first, last, and all the time, and that policy which fails in this is opposed

to American interests. To secure this is the great purpose of a Protective Tariff. Free-traders say, give it to the foreign workman, if ours will not perform it at the same price and accept the same wages. Protectionists say no, the workingmen say no, and justly and indignantly resent this attempted degradation of their labor, this blow at their independence and manhood.

"The party that tries to lead us back will be buried beneath popular indignation. [Applause.] From whom does this complaint come? It comes from the scholars, so-called [laughter], and the poets, from whom we gladly take our poetry, but whose political economy we must decline to receive; from the dilettanti and would-be diplomatists, the men of fixed incomes; it comes from the men who 'toil not, neither do they spin' [great applause], and from those who 'do not gather into barns' [laughter], who have no investments except in bonds and mortgages, who want everything cheap but money, everything easy to secure but coin, who prefer the customs and civilization of other countries to our own, and who find nothing so wholesome as that which is imported, whether manners or merchandise, and want no obstructions in the shape of a tariff placed upon the free use of both. [Applause and laughter.]

CHAPTER XV.

LIBERTY AND LABOR.

"The hope of the Republic is in a citizenship that is faithful to home and family and devotedly loyal to country."

"*Mr. President, Members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, of the Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago, and My Fellow-Citizens:* I am glad to join with you in observing this, our one hundred and nineteenth National anniversary, that we may gather fresh inspirations in the cause of human freedom and equality and dedicate ourselves anew, in common with our fellow-citizens everywhere, to the good work of maintaining the free Government which our fathers inaugurated more than a century ago. No city in America has a better right or a better reason to rejoice at its majesty and strength than Chicago, and no citizens of any city in any State should celebrate it with more zeal and joy than her working people, who have done so much to make Chicago the great inland metropolis of our country, whose marvelous progress is the admiration and wonder of the world.

"We are a Nation of working people; some one

has said that Americans are born busy, and that they never find time to be idle or indolent. We glory in the fact that in the dignity and elevation of labor we find our greatest distinction among the nations of the earth. The United States possesses practically as much energy or working power as Great Britain, Germany, and France combined, so that the ratio of working power falling to each American is more than that of to two people of any other nation. But with our improved and superior machinery each American laborer is enabled to accomplish, relatively, still more than his European competitor. The American laborer not only does more and better work, but there are more skilled, intelligent, and capable artisans here now in proportion to the total population than in any other country of the world. No other country can boast of so great a percentage of producers among her instructed population, and none other can point to so large a number of enlightened and educated citizens. The census statistics of 1890 place the number of our citizens over ten years of age engaged in gainful occupations at 22,735,000, while Sir Michael G. Mulhall, the noted English statistician, refers to the fact that no other civilized country could ever before boast of 41,000,000 instructed citizens. Indeed, we may find in the able review of the industrial activities of our country recently published by this distinguished authority many striking texts for patriotic contemplation. He states very frankly:

"'If we were to take a survey of mankind in ancient or modern times as regards the physical, mechanical, and intellectual force of nations, we find nothing to compare with the United States in this present year of 1895. The physical and mechanical power which has enabled a community of wood-cutters and farmers to become in less than one hundred years the greatest Nation in the world is the aggregate of the strong arms of men and women, aided by horse-power, machinery, and steam-power applied to the useful arts and sciences of every-day life. The power that traces a furrow in the prairie, sows the seed, reaps and threshes the ripe grain; the power that converts wheat into flour, that weaves wool or cotton into textile stuffs and garments; the power that lifts the mineral from the bowels of the earth, that forges iron and constructs railroads; the power that builds up towns and cities—in a word, whatever force is directed for the production, conveyance, or distribution of the necessaries, comforts, or luxuries of life, may be measured at each National census with almost the same precision as that with which the astronomer indicates the distances of the heavenly bodies.'

"We shall not enter upon such a computation or study, interesting as it might be, but you are to be congratulated upon the fact that in every field of progress and development Chicago has always been to the front and borne a most conspicuous part. Upon this proud record I feel that you are to be es-

pecially congratulated, for I am sure that to no class of her citizens is this great city so much indebted for her marvelous growth as to her wage-earners, artisans, and working people. It can truthfully be said that no other city in the country has been so shining a light, so truly an example and model in enterprise and energy for so many people in so many States as Chicago. Her people have set the pace for the great Northwest, now chasing other parts of the country in the race of progress and supremacy. It is fitting that they should rejoice, and above all most appropriate that they should select this glad anniversary as the occasion for such jubilations.

"This day, forever the most illustrious in our history, is crowded with patriotic memories. It belongs to history, and celebrates that only which is grand and inspiring in history. Every memory, every tradition, every event about it must inspire every patriot with true homage to country and with hope, courage, and confidence for the future. It is the baptismal day of freedom; the day when the hearts of Young America are proud and glad and the hearts of the old are young again. It celebrates the grandest act in the history of the human race—the Declaration of American Independence, and a ringing protest against usurpation and tyranny in that age and every other. It has no rival; Lincoln's immortal Proclamation of Emancipation was but its fitting supplement and actual fulfillment. Yorktown pointed the way, but it was Appomattox that marked

the completed, unquestioned, glorious realization of both.

"The Fourth of July calls us back to the most heroic era of American annals, and I can conceive of nothing more profitable than a consideration of the origin and meaning of our National anniversary and a brief notice of some of the patriotic leaders who made its celebration possible. The day records the event which gave birth to the Nation, that glad event to humanity out of which has arisen the great National fabric that we now enjoy, and the preservation and advancement of which should be our highest and most sacred concern. We cannot study the early history of the country without marveling at the courage, the foresight, the sagacity, and the broad-mindedness of the men who promulgated the Declaration of Independence and who subsequently launched a new government under a written Constitution. The men who framed the Declaration and Constitution seem now to have been inspired for their great work, to have been raised up by Jehovah, like His prophets of old, especially for the supreme duties and grave responsibilities He placed upon them.

"Both instruments were in part the work of the same men, and never was the spirit and impulse of a preliminary document more apparent in the completed act. What illustrious men constituted the Continental Congress of 1776—and most of them were young men, whose subsequent careers were as

distinguished and useful as their first great work indicated they would become! Every American can proudly call that roll of honor without reservation, apology, or omission. From Virginia came Jefferson, its author; Harrison, Nelson, Wythe, the Lees, and Braxton, all famous in the annals of the State, and all freely risking life and fortune for their beloved country. From Massachusetts came John Hancock, 'the outlawed but uncompromising President;' John Adams, 'the Colossus of Independence,' and his equally patriotic kinsman, Samuel Adams, 'the Father of the Revolution.' Near them sat Benjamin Franklin, the resourceful and wise philosopher, the eloquent Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, and those tireless and talented advocates of freedom and union, Thomas McKean and Cæsar Rodney, of Delaware. In another group, perhaps, were the four brave men who in later years sat with Washington to frame and sign the Constitution—Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; George Read, of Delaware, and George Clymer and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania. Near them were those sweet-spirited and able counselors and orators, Arthur Middleton, of South Carolina, and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. Then there were John Witherspoon, of Princeton College, a disciple of Christ and the Christian doctrine of civil liberty; John Penn, the sturdy patriot of North Carolina; Lyman Hall, of Georgia; Chase, Paca, and Stone, of Maryland; Bartlett and Whipple, of New Hampshire; Floyd and Living-

ston, of New York; Hopkins and Ellery, of Rhode Island, and the young and ardent Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

"Nor must we omit to mention two of this distinguished body of patriots—Dickinson, the eloquent 'Pennsylvania Farmer,' and his colleague, Robert Morris, 'the Financier of the Revolution,' whose energy, self-sacrifice, and devotion were as unbounded as his integrity and probity were unimpeachable. It is related that after he had already involved himself to the extent of $1,500,000 in behalf of the Government, he said to a Quaker friend: 'I want money for the use of the army.'

"'What security can thee give?'

"'My word and my honor,' replied Morris.

"'Robert, thou shalt have it,' was the prompt reply.

"Equally as useful and perhaps as influential as most of the members was the efficient Secretary of the Continental Congress, Charles Thompson, who for fifteen years was the faithful recorder of all its proceedings, and who both witnessed and directed the signing of the Declaration. To him we are indebted, perhaps, more than to any other, for the enrollment and preservation of the historic parchment itself.

"These were the men and men like them, who founded our Government. It has always seemed to me most fortunate that they were a truly representative body, not only as to the States and sections of the country, but in the character of their callings

and pursuits in life. The country was new and but little developed, yet these men were familiar with and represented in themselves every condition of American life and society. Many of them were men of great experience in public affairs, 'the architects of their own fortunes,' who generally had risen despite great odds, and were in no sense adventurers or hot-headed revolutionists.

"They built, not for themselves alone, but for posterity. Their plans stretched far out into the future, compassing the ages and embracing mankind. Not alone for the present were their sacrifices and struggles, but for all time thereafter. Not for American colonists only, but for the whole human race, wherever men and women are struggling for higher, freer, and better conditions. It was as the yearning of the soul for emancipation. It was the cry of humanity for freedom—freedom to think, speak, and act within the limitations of just and proper laws, which should be of their own making. If it should prove ineffectual, all was lost, and tyranny and oppression would be perpetual. It was the mighty struggle of the ages for the freedom of man, for the equal opportunity of all mankind. It involved those 'inalienable rights, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' and it was no fault of its author that the shackles of slavery were left upon any human being in the Republic. What it fell short of he fully comprehended, and he wrote as he designed, intending that the Declaration should be

forever the protest of a Nation against every form of tyranny, oppression, and bondage known to men.

"Liberty and conscience triumphed, and because of that triumph we have enjoyed for now more than a century the freest and best government in the world. The liberty which was secured by so great a sacrifice was not the liberty of lawlessness, not the liberty of licentiousness, but liberty for law, and law always for liberty, and both for all the people. It was not liberty for a class merely, but liberty and political equality for all the people; not a struggle for landed proprietors, for men of wealth and gentle birth, but liberty for the masses, the poor as well as the rich, the low as well as the high. It was not a victory easily won—indeed, the wonder is that it was won at all. It was a contest waged by weak and struggling colonies, beset by enemies at home, as well as opposed by the most powerful government in the world, 'the proud mistress of the seas,' their old Mother Country, strongly intrenched in power, and with the wealth of centuries at command.

"It took seven years of war to make the Declaration of Independence respected as more than the idle words of a few restless leaders. Yet that great proclamation of freedom fell short of what Jefferson intended that it should contain. It is an interesting fact that the author of the Declaration of Independence and some of those associated with him deeply deplored the slave trade which was then actively engaged in by several of the Colonies. It is a fact

worth cherishing that in the original draft by Jefferson he charged the king with willful participation in the slave trade. Here is the passage which was omitted, and it is certainly one of the most striking of the wonderful document:

"'He [King George] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open the market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on which he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.'

"This, alas, was left out of the otherwise perfect Declaration of Independence. What a world of trouble and sorrow it would have saved to posterity had it remained! What a blot it would have spared

the fair fame of this Republic, and what thousands of precious lives would have been saved if that great truth had become a part of the Charter of our Liberties, and its spirit have been ingrafted upon the Constitution in 1787! It is doubtful whether the Declaration could have been adopted if it had not been eliminated. Some of the Colonies would doubtless have withheld their assent, because some of them, or some of the people dwelling therein, were engaged themselves in the unholy traffic. It was the best and all that could be done at the time; more was not required then, and need not be deeply deplored now. Jefferson reluctantly yielded the point, but the passage remains as a permanent record not only to his broad philanthropy and exalted patriotism, but to his marvelous sagacity and foresight as one of the ablest and noblest of American statesmen. We can but reflect that what was in the hearts of Jefferson and many of his associates more than one hundred and nineteen years ago continued to stir the hearts of mankind, and that men could not slumber until slavery was totally extinguished. It took nearly a hundred years of national agitation and finally a war which cost the country hundreds of thousands of brave men and millions of the public treasury to put into the Constitution of the country what Jefferson wanted to put from the first into the Declaration of Independence.

"It is interesting to note what seemed the almost insuperable obstacles to the final victory which

inaugurated free government on this continent. In the limitations of an address like this it is impossible to give them even a casual review. There was one great menace, however, that seems to have received little attention at the time which impresses me deeply, and may possess some interest to you, since it brings into prominence the noble character of Washington and his agency in securing the blessings we now enjoy. It was after hostilities had ceased, although no public proclamation of peace had yet been made. Washington had been urged to accept a kingship, but had sternly rebuked every suggestion of dictatorship on his part. The army was at Newburgh without pay, almost without food, and suffering in rags. Washington best describes its condition in a letter to the Secretary of War, from which I read:

"'Under present circumstances, when I see a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past and anticipations of the future, about to be turned on the world, forced by penury and by what they call the ingratitude of the public, involved in debt, without one farthing to carry them home, after spending the flower of their days and many of their patrimonies in establishing the freedom of their country and suffering everything this side of death—I repeat that when I consider these irritating circumstances, without one thing to soothe their feelings or dispel their prospects, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious and distressing nature. You may

rely upon it, the patriotism and long suffering of this Army is well-nigh exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at present.'

"He stood between the Army and Congress, sympathizing deeply with his brave comrades in their deplorable condition, and yet in their presence, and in all his relations with them, upholding Congress and finding good excuses for its failure to provide for the Continental Army. The greatest discontent was prevalent, and a manifesto was issued and circulated among the officers and men which was well calculated to move them to acts of disorder and violence. This was its strong language:

"'Faith has its limits as well as its temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched without sinking into cowardice or plunging into credulity. If this be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary to the protection of your country, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink and your strength dissipate by division, when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides and no remaining mark of your military distinction is left but your infirmities and scars? Can you consent to retire from the field and grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of despondency and owe the remnant of that life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can, go, and carry with you the jest of Tories,

the scorn of Whigs, and, what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten.'

"'Suspect the man,' it continued, referring directly to Washington, 'who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Tell Congress that with it rests the responsibility of the future; that if peace returns nothing but death shall separate you from your arms, and that if the war continues you will retire to some unsettled country to smile in turn and mock when their fear cometh.'

"This was the situation that confronted Washington. These words of discontent and mutinous import were easily caught up by many of the brave but suffering men, the heroic men whom he had borne on his great heart for seven long years. He declared this to be the darkest day of his life; no defeat in all the years of the Revolution had borne so terrible an aspect. He beheld the half-naked, starving Army about to be led into mutiny, and perhaps, all the horrors of a bloody and desperate civil war, whose chief incentives would be rapine and plunder. What was he to do in this great emergency?

"A meeting was called without his knowledge or consent to take action. He appreciated its gravity; he realized the meeting was fraught with the direct consequences to the Army and the country. It might destroy all that had been accomplished in the long struggle. He quickly determined his course. He issued a peremptory order postponing it for four

days, and prepared an address that for force of utterance, lofty patriotism, and unselfish devotion to the cause for which they had jointly fought has to me scarcely an equal in the literature of the Revolution. He attended the meeting; it was held on March 15th, 1783. It was the trying moment of his life, as well as a crucial test in the fate of the new and unsettled Government of the Republic. He had for those brave men, as he looked upon them assembled in the Temple, only love, gratitude, and sympathy. He unrolled his manuscript—forgetting for the moment his spectacles, which had become indispensable to him—but, pausing, he took them from his pocket, and before adjusting them remarked, in words full of emotion:

"'These eyes, my friends, have grown dim and these locks white in the service, yet I never doubted the justice of my country.'

"Referring to the manifesto, he said:

"'My God, what can this writer have in view in recommending such measures? Can he be a friend of the country and the army? No! He is plotting the ruin of both. Let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity, as you regard the military or national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretense, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates

of civil discord and deluge our rising empire in blood.'

"After urging them to exhibit the same unselfish patriotism, the same devotion to duty that had always characterized them, and await with patience justice from the country they had served so faithfully, he said:

"'By thus determining and acting you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice, and you will give one more distinguishing proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue rising superior to the most complicated sufferings, and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind: "Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human virtue is capable of attaining."'

"Such an appeal from such a man could not be unavailing. The effect was instant; his inspired words were magical. His address finished, he walked out of the Temple alone, leaving his words of wisdom with them for such unrestrained consideration and action as they might see fit to take. The officers at once adopted resolutions of thanks, reciprocating the affectionate expressions of their Commander-in-Chief and indignantly repudiating the wicked manifesto. Civil war was at that moment averted, and

did not again so seriously confront the country for nearly eighty years.

"This, I repeat, is a day of patriotic memories, and, perhaps, another allusion to the War for Independence may prove of some interest to you. On April 18th, 1783, a little more than a month after the scene just described, Washington issued his order announcing that hostilities had ceased. Let me read it to you:

"'HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH, April 18th, 1793.

"'The Commander-in-Chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the King of Great Britain to be publicly read to-morrow at twelve o'clock, at the New Building, and the proclamation, which will be communicated herewith, to be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army. After which the chaplains with the several brigades will render thanks to Almighty God for all His mercies, particularly for His overruling the wrath of man to His own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.'

"We can well pause, even at this distant day, and offer our thanksgiving to that same power for His mercies to us, and for the singular manner in which He has preserved this Government from then until now against the 'wrath of man to His own glory' and our most glorious advancement.

"Following this order there was a great demonstration of joy among the soldiers, and even the gal-

lant officers, who but a few weeks before had been filled with such great discontent, now alike joined in singing with excited and jubilant air that grand old anthem, 'Independence,' then so popular, but long since forgotten and lost:

"'The States, O Lord, with song and praise,
Shall in Thy strength rejoice;
And, blest with Thy salvation, raise
To heaven their cheerful voice,
And all the continent shall ring,
Down with this earthly king;
No king but God.'

"Interesting as these incidents may be to all who would, by a correct understanding of the past, wisely improve the future, we can review them no further. The past is secure; the present and the future are our fields of opportunity and duty. Those who have gone before did well their part. Shall we be less brave and patriotic in the performance of our duty?

"What a mighty nation has been erected upon the immortal principles of the great Declaration, the signing of which we celebrate to-day! We have increased from thirteen to forty-four States; from 3,000,000 to nearly 70,000,000 people. We have arisen from slavery to freedom; from what some men believed a mere confederacy of States, to be dissolved at pleasure, to a mighty, eternal Union of indivisible, indestructible States; from an agricultural community to the foremost Nation of the world in all the arts and sciences, in manufactures, in agri-

culture, and in mining. Liberty, labor, and love have accomplished it all. Labor has been dignified and has vindicated the truth that the best citizen of any community is its most useful citizen. All men have equal rights guaranteed by our Constitution and laws, and that equality must be forever preserved and strengthened and everywhere recognized. We are all Americans, we are all sovereigns, equal in the ballot, and that citizen is the best who does his best; who follows the light as God gives him to see the light; who concedes to all the races of mankind what he claims for himself; who rigidly respects the rights of others; who is ever willing and ready to assist others; who has the best heart, the best character, the greatest charity and sympathy, and who withholds from none of his fellow-men the respect, privileges, and protection he claims for himself. This is the citizenship that is the need of every age and to which we must educate ourselves and those who are to come after us. This is the citizenship that is the hope of the Republic, its security and permanency, which is the hope of mankind, our own best hope; a citizenship that is faithful to home and family, devotedly loyal to country, that encourages the truest and broadest national spirit, the most thorough and genuine Americanism, that is ever moving onward and upward toward the highest ideals of modern civilization; a citizenship that respects law and constituted authority, that loyally upholds, guards, and supports the Govern-

ment of which it is a part, in whose administration it has a voice, and that rests upon the free choice and consent of a majority of the people. These were the characteristics which possessed the souls of the men who landed in the 'Mayflower,' who resisted British oppression, who promulgated the immortal Declaration of Independence. These are the elements of character which gave us a Patrick Henry, a Franklin, a Washington, a Jefferson, an Adams, a Jackson, a Grant, and which produced a Lincoln, whose name has enriched history, and whose great Emancipation Proclamation has blessed mankind and glorified God.

"It was this character of citizenship, and the aim to secure it, that animated the men who fought all the battles of the Republic from the Revolution to the great Civil War; that struck slavery from the Constitution of the United States, that obliterated caste and bondage and made freedom universal in the Republic. The greatest battle which the Nation has fought has been to secure to labor the right to do with its skill, energy, and industry what it chooses, through lawful pursuits and by peaceable means, ever obedient to law and order, and respectful of the rights of all; that has given labor the unquestioned right to use what it earns in its own way in the elevation of home and family; that has taught labor to give conscience its full sway, and that has inspired labor to improve wisely every opportunity which makes possible the realization of the

highest hopes and best aspirations of the human race.

"Peace, order, and good will among the people, with patriotism in their hearts; truth, honor, and justice in the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of the Government, municipal, State, and National; all yielding respect and obedience to law, all equal before the law, and all alike amenable to law—such are the conditions that will make our Government too strong ever to be broken by internal dissensions and too powerful ever to be overturned by any enemy from without. Then will the Government of the people, under the smiles of heaven, bless, prosper, and exalt the people who sustain and support it!

"In America no one is born to power; none assured of station or command except by his own worth or usefulness. But to any post of honor all who choose may aspire, and history has proved that the humblest in youth are frequently the most honored and powerful in the maturity of strength and age. It has long been demonstrated that the philosophy of Jefferson is true, and that this, the land of the free and self-governed, is the strongest as well as the best Government in the world. We accept no governmental standards but our own; we will have no flag but the glorious old Stars and Stripes.

"Workingmen of Chicago, let me abjure you to be faithful to the acts, traditions, and teachings of the fathers. Make their standard of patriotism and

duty your own. Be faithful to their glorious example. Whatever the difficulties of the present, or problems of the future, meet them in the same spirit of unflinching loyalty to country, the same devotion and love for home and family, the same acknowledgment of dependence upon God that has always characterized those grand men. Therein rests your greatest prosperity and happiness and the surest attainment of your best and dearest ambitions. Have confidence in the strength of our free institutions and faith in the justice of your fellow-citizens, for as Lincoln often said 'there is no other hope in the world equal to it.'

"In conclusion, let me offer the advice and exhortation of one who spoke on an occasion somewhat similar to this in the Centennial year 1876 in the city of Boston, the venerable Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, in his masterly Fourth of July oration and one of his last great public addresses. He had lived through nearly the whole period of our National existence and had been an active participant in public affairs and a close student of our history and people for many years. With this training and all the wisdom of experience and age, he profoundly observed:

"'If I could hope without presumption that any humble counsels of mine on this hallowed anniversary would be remembered beyond the hour of their utterance and reach the ears of my countrymen in future days, I could not omit certainly to reiterate

the solemn obligations which rest on every citizen of this Republic to cherish and enforce the great principles of our Colonial and Revolutionary fathers —the principles of liberty and law, one and inseparable—the principles of the Constitution and the Union. I could not omit to urge every man to remember that self-government politically can only be successful if it be accompanied by self-government personally; that there must be government somewhere; and that if the people are indeed to be sovereigns they must exercise their sovereignty over themselves individually as well as over themselves in the aggregate—regulating their own lives, resisting their own temptations, subduing their own passions and voluntarily imposing upon themselves some measure of that restraint and discipline which, under other systems, is supplied from the armories of arbitary power—the discipline of virtue, in the place of the discipline of slavery. I could not omit to caution them against the corrupting influences of intemperance, extravagance, and luxury; I could not omit to call upon them to foster and further the cause of universal education; to give a liberal support to our schools and colleges; to promote the advancement of science and art in all their multiplied divisions and relations, and to encourage and sustain all those noble institutions of charity which in our own land, above all others, have given the crowning grace and glory to modern civilization.'

"It would to me be an honor beyond any other to

have been the author of these sublime sentiments. I can and do adopt them, and beg you to heed, cherish, and teach them, as a rule of action to yourselves and to your children. American citizenship thus molded will perpetuate freedom, exalt the freeman, and distinguish the Republic beyond its past glorious achievements."

CHAPTER XVI.

MRS. McKINLEY AT HOME.

The great Protectionist's Wife—Strong despite physical weakness—Shares all her husband's burdens—"Ever happy when surrounded by friends, children, and roses."

[Sketch by Miss H. D. Hallmark.]

"I AM very glad to meet you," she said, as I neared her chair.

A tone is the index which gives you the page where a character is written. The moment the sentence was finished I knew Mrs. William McKinley belonged to the sincerely gracious type of women.

It only needed her face and outstretched hand to verify the classification.

Governor McKinley had brought me in to meet his wife through a group of politicians and friends who were sitting on the terrace and wide veranda at his house at Canton, O. As we walked through the shadowy, spacious hall toward the sitting-room the laughter and hum of feminine voices reached me.

"I will not disturb Mrs. McKinley if she is entertaining callers, Governor," I said.

"Then I very much fear you would never see her," he answered. "It is the penalty of her geniality that she gladly pays. She is ever happy when surrounded by friends, children, and roses."

And in that atmosphere I found her. She had visitors of the gentler sex from California and Vermont—friends whom she had made in Congressional days. Roses were everywhere. One seemed turned loose in a conservatory.

Two tiny chairs waited occupancy. The Governor turned to pick up a chubby-faced, yellow-ringleted three-year-old who came with hands full of flowers and lips ready to be kissed by "Auntie McKinley."

"That is my name to every acquaintance under ten years of age," said Mrs. McKinley, "It used to be my boast that I knew every child in Canton. I fear the town grows beyond me now; but reciprocity is great, and the children seem drawn to me because they know I love them so."

HER LOVE OF CHILDREN.

If Mrs. McKinley were asked "What are your preferences?" the first answer would be "Children."

Twenty-three years ago she lost the two little ones that came to bless the sunny house at Canton. The first was born on Christmas Day and the second on April 1st.

Since the music of the two tiny voices died away from her ears forever Mrs. McKinley has found that

her heart throbs quicker at the prattle of a child than aught else, and that her love is wide enough to cover all small lives, whether they be the offspring of poet or peasant, king or beggar.

By the side of her great reception chair stand two little rockers. One belonged to their first born and the other was the infant throne of Mrs. McKinley herself when she was "Baby Saxton," and all Canton loved her.

For while the branches of Mrs. McKinley's life have spread far and wide, giving shade, shelter, fragrance, and sweetness to many other lives, the roots are firmly established in that thriving little Western town.

Twenty-six years ago Ida Saxton was Canton's belle and heiress. Her father was a business man—rich beyond the order for those times. Houses, lands, and banks were his.

Of sturdy old Presbyterian stock, he brought up his children after the way they should go, studying the Westminster Confession of Faith, and committing the Shorter Catechism to memory.

He was a man of influence in his county, and all homage was given to the pretty young daughter who came home after graduating at Media, Pa., and made her bow to the social circles of Canton. Her father, however, had his own ideas about girls, and it was not all to be "bangs and beaux" with his daughter.

"Girls should learn to do something that will bring them in money if fortune should be fickle," he

argued. And the pretty daughter was put into his own bank at Canton for a year to prove that Media had taught her something besides "a little Latin."

"And the prospect looked quite dreary to me," said Mrs. McKinley, in talking it over, "for all the other girls had brothers to take them out, and my one was only a wee lad. But," she added, with a twinkle in her great gray eyes, "every man in town promised to be a brother to me, and, oh! I did have such a good time."

"And the Governor? Was he a childhood's sweetheart, as I have heard?" I asked.

"Not at all. He ran away to the army when he was sixteen, and served along with President Hayes. That was the strong bond between them. After that he began his law practice in Canton, and—why then the other brothers dropped off one by one. Everyone approved of the match, my father most of all—and so we were married."

Where Mrs. McKinley lives now the Governor brought her home a bride. For twenty-five years the house on North Market Street has remained unaltered, and the Governor and his wife dearly love every picture on its walls and every rose that climbs over the terrace.

The First Presbyterian Church, a fine piece of stone architecture, was dedicated by the Saxton-McKinley wedding. The builders hurried the preparations to completion that this wedding might be the very first event inside its walls.

All the Saxton's are yet ardent members and supporters of it, but Mrs. McKinley usually goes with her husband to the Methodist Church, of which he is an enthusiastic supporter.

As Ida Saxton was Canton's belle a quarter of a century ago, so Mrs. William McKinley is the most popular woman there to-day. No honors of State or nation's capital have spoiled her. She inherited sterner stuff than that. She is just as gracious to some old beaux whose lives have come to nothing as she is to an illustrious executive.

She has a keen interest in people. They are more to her than position. It is the individual, not the class, for which she cares.

As the Governor said, it would be hard to see Mrs. McKinley when she didn't have callers. The house is always open. The neighborly spirit which rules in smaller towns exists in Canton to a great degree, but the neighborliness to the McKinleys comes from all points of the Union.

During the day I spent with them there were no fewer than fifty friendly formal callers, and yet the day was not a gala one.

The favorite house-corner of the Governor's wife is the great triple bow window of the long western sitting-room.

Here she sits for hours, talking to friends, playing with children, or watching the passers-by on wheels, foot, and carriage; for North Market Street is a fashionable thoroughfare and the town authorities

wish to shortly change the name to the more significant and euphonious one of McKinley Avenue.

I say she "sits" there, for misfortune laid a heavy hand on Mrs. McKinley twenty-three years ago, and the muscles of her limbs are too weak to allow her to walk.

For twenty-three years, therefore, she has never stood upright or walked without assistance.

By her side always rests a strong mahogany cane with a great gold top, and a friend's arm serves for the other support.

That is the only sign of invaldism. Women with far slighter physical troubles have worn weaker faces. Mrs. McKinley is a tall, well-rounded, strong-faced, clear-eyed woman, who needs must point to the staff and say, as she does, smilingly to every stranger—"You see I'm not strong," before there comes a suspicion that she cannot walk and ride and wheel and do aught that strong women do.

For she looks so vital.

She is about medium height, with a full, straight figure. The face has strong cheek bones, a wide brow, not very high, from which her short, soft, gray hair divides in broad parting and waves back to the collar.

This coiffure is not one of Mrs. McKinley's choosing, but her luxuriant hair had to be cut, as she did not feel quite strong enough to bear the hairpins and braids through the unflagging duties as wife of a public man.

However, it is exceedingly becoming to her. Her brow, hair, and eyes reminded me singularly of those of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.

Mrs. McKinley's eyes are her telling point. Had the mouth been weak the eyes would have redeemed it. But its strength says to the eyes, "We are one in purpose."

They are magnetic eyes.

In them one sees the discipline of suffering, the heritage of common sense, the graciousness of a kindly woman, the tenderness of a wife who loves wisely and well.

But behind even that one who watches sees the steel badge of courage; the squareness of judgment which looks a world straight into the face; and somewhere, away down in a spot no bigger than the small end of a wine funnel, the determination to be bigger than anything than can happen to her.

With such a woman fate has no victory, circumstance no sting, and chance would have made her an invalid; herself defeated it.

THE GOVERNOR'S DEVOTION.

Her physical weakness is no skeleton in a closet. She speaks of it to all acquaintances—never in a desire to use the first person singular, but as an explanation that she doesn't do more as a hostess, although every one knows that she accomplishes more than many a healthy, selfish woman.

She was speaking of it in the reception room during the afternoon, saying to an enthusiastic biker that wheels were a subject where she didn't have to fight for the merits of her chosen one, for bicycling was quite beyond her forever, "As I can't even walk," she added.

A young girl quickly sighed.

Mrs. McKinley turned to her with that wonderful tenderness on her face that comes to a girl's mouth and eyes when her lover is mentioned, and said: "But, my child, I have the great love of a noble man."

And who could sigh after that?

The devotion of Governor McKinley to his wife is party history. Were it private talk only it would be indelicate to mention it, but everyone who has ever come in friendly contact with this couple know of it.

He is too keen a man not to know that the strong face of his wife shows a woman of sound judgment, of wide-mindedness, of a good insight into men and affairs and the causes that condition both, for him not to make her his confidante and helpmate.

That cool-headed judiciousness in judging the world, which was transmitted into her veins by her clear-minded father, comes not amiss in the statesman's wife. The person worth observing is observed by Mrs. McKinley.

The advantages she has been given as wife of a public man and the advantages fate gave her of

remaining quiet and not wasting her vitality in flitting to and fro, have developed that inborn trait to a wonderful degree—to an alarming degree, I should say, to the person who wished to gain by deceiving her.

HER WINNING PERSONALITY.

But this knowledge of the world does not tend in the smallest to harden the face. It gives firmness to sweetness, purpose to tenderness, power behind attraction.

Between the level, black eyebrows that divide the two color lines of gray eyes and gray hair, there is not a wrinkle or frown. Nothing but disposition has done this thing.

She is temperamentally inclined not to worry, and the sign is there on the smooth, white forehead. The absence of any line is a special conundrum to those whose grievances have been slighter, perhaps, but whose command over self has been less.

I asked an old friend of Mrs. McKinley's if the latter's temper was always as equable as that day. It had been severely tried.

The day was hot, callers had been constant since eleven in the morning, and it was then five, a good dozen of visitors from out of town had remained to luncheon, among whom were Mark Hanna, ex-Secretary Proctor, from Vermont; Judge and Mrs. Speers, from California; and several other equally talked-of personages, at which table Mrs. McKinley had presided.

"Yes," said the friend, "I've never seen her pettish in my life. That she sometimes gets exceedingly weary goes without saying, but she seemed to have schooled herself out of that common heritage of woman—the desire to be cross and unreasonable when tired."

"Why, even when I get a cold in my head," said the wife of an army officer, "I get simply snappish, just as all other women do, and my husband says warningly, 'Remember Mrs. McKinley, dear,' and I at once am ashamed of myself."

HER FAVORITE NOOK.

I spoke of the favorite place in the McKinley home. It is around a great window that looks on a neighbor's house and the side terrace, while the two French windows in front open on the wide veranda which leads down to a spacious terrace.

Mrs. McKinley's chair is drawn near the bow window. The nearby table is a feature of the room. It is the one exhibited at the World's Fair in the Ohio Building, made of handsome Ohio woods, and afterward presented to the Governor and his wife.

It is exceedingly large and beautifully carved, with great claw feet. On it lie the periodicals of the day, the mounted and framed photograph of the Governor's horse, "Midnight," cabinets of beautiful women and sandwiched everywhere, bowls and vases of glorious roses.

I should not say the roses were "sandwiched,"

for all else were pushed around to make room for the splendid June beauties that friends keep this corner abundantly supplied with.

One great vase of them was sent by the fair graduates to whom the Governor had presented diplomas the night before. And one massive jar of the most superb red ones were just unpacked, sent by a Philadelphia florist, asking that they might have the honor of being named "the Mrs. McKinley," as they were a new variety.

This room is furnished in simple but artistic taste. This is more of a living room than a sitting room.

The pictures are mostly of family and friends. Mr. and Mrs. McKinley, Sr., are there, and Mr. and Mrs. Saxton. President and Mrs. Hayes in a double frame are mounted on an easel, and Mrs. McKinley pointed out to me the small daguerreotypes of the wee one that died, and of her husband and herself when they began life in an unpretentious way, but even then with "dreams of future greatness in the eye."

Autograph pictures of great artists in the literary and musical world dot the cosily papered walls, and the fine piano—also rose-covered—shows the musical taste of the hostess.

Behind this sitting-room is Mrs. McKinley's sleeping apartment. It is furnished daintily in old chippendale and brass couch with hangings of French cretonne. The toilet table is loaded with lovely silver articles and long windows open out on more green grass.

In truth, there is no outlook in summer from the McKinley home where the eye doesn't meet verdure and flowers.

As to the dining-room, one glance at the long dining-table verifies what Fred, the colored major-domo of the Governor, would tell you, that "the family is two, but the table is set for twelve."

This shows the hospitality of the home.

If Mrs. McKinley becomes mistress of the White House, I don't believe any exigencies in the social life will be too much for her, accustomed, as she is, to constant entertaining. And her entertaining, mind you, is not confined to their Canton home. Mrs. McKinley goes everywhere the Governor goes, and all over America she has boundlessly entertained and been entertained.

Some one spoke of her possible White House duties. She shook her head and laughed.

"I've tried that once," she said, "and have ever since said I never wanted any longer duration of it. I was Lady of the White House for two weeks during Mrs. Hayes's absence.

"Mrs. Hayes and I had always been on most cordial terms, and I was as often at the White House as she at our hotel. So she persuaded me to stay there during a fortnight of unavoidable absence on her part during the season. And I repeat, the position is no slight tax."

Mrs. McKinley is an excellent hostess. She was either born with—although I don't believe anybody

is—or she has learned the gift of listening and of bringing the guests out. And you know if one proves that you are clever you are convinced of the cleverness of the one who does so.

So people go away from the Governor's wife with a snug, comfortable conviction about the region of the heart that they have proved themselves most entertaining persons.

Wonderful gift, isn't it?

But no one would laugh more at the suggestion of such a trait on her part than Mrs. McKinley. "But, my dear, I am really so interested," she would say.

HER WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

When I said good-by to her I almost told her how charming she was. I hope my eyes told it to her.

In the secret recesses of my better sense I knew I had been lured into staying too long, and yet her parting graciousness was such that my sub-coating of conceit was gratified. That is another straw which shows her power of making friends.

Going down the terrace, where the men portion of the callers sat on garden chairs, taking their ease while they talked on matters of quivering importance, I turned back to get a last glimpse of the favorite corner.

The setting sun touched the rose petals into prismatic colors and glinted on the yellow curls of a baby caller seated in one of the little chairs.

Mrs. McKinley sat in her large chair; in her firm white hand she held a great-hearted crimson rose; on her shoulder was lightly laid the hand of the man of the hour; back of her stood several powers in the affairs of the nation.

And I knew that whatever the political creed of those men, they believe in woman's rights—the right of their chivalry and tenderness and loyalty and devotion and homage to such a wide-minded, great-hearted, fine-souled lady.

Of such is the kingdom of woman.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CELEBRATED DUEL BETWEEN GLADSTONE AND BLAINE—MR. GLADSTONE'S CONTENTION AND MR. BLAINE'S ARGUMENT.

In the *North American Review* of 1890 appeared remarkable papers under the head:

"A DUEL.

Free Trade. The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.
Protection. . . The Hon. James G. Blaine."

Mr. Gladstone referred to a tract on *Free Trade Toilers and Starvation Wages for Working Men and Women*, by an American gentleman, Mr. N. McKay of New York, who forwarded his production to the English statesman, and challenged from him an expression of opinion on the results of free trade in England and the relative value of free trade and protection to the English speaking people. Mr. Gladstone said there was an evident title to call upon him for he had given out years before an opinion, sincerely entertained, and that "the rolling years" confirmed, that in international transactions the British nation enjoyed a commercial primacy, and no

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country but the United States showed any capacity to wrest that position from his countrymen, and "that, if America shall frankly adopt and steadily maintain a system of free trade, she will by degrees, perhaps not slow degrees, outstrip us in the race, and will probably take the place which at present belongs to us; but that she will not injure us by the operation. On the contrary, she will do us good. Her freedom of trade will add to our present commerce and our present wealth, so that we shall be better than we now are. But while we obtain this increment, she will obtain another increment, so much larger than ours that it will both cover the minus quantity which, as compared with us, she at present exhibits in international transactions, and also establish a positive excess, possibly a large excess, in her own favor."

When Mr. Gladstone was thus challenged there was a Presidential election contest pending, but that was in 1888, and Protection had its victory—and therefore no longer stood "within the august shadow of the election, but must take her chance in the arena of discussion as a common combatant." The core of Mr. Gladstone's contention we give in his own language—that the full force of his statement may be fairly presented.

We have not space for his argument in detail, and only refer to it and make explanation of it that it may serve as an introduction to the reply by Mr. Blaine, which is a chapter of American history writ-

ten by one of the most competent pens that ever served our country. Mr. Gladstone said:

"That the American rate of wages is higher than ours I concede. Some, at least, of the causes of this most gratifying fact I shall endeavor to acknowledge. My enumeration may be sufficient or may be otherwise. Whether it be exhaustive or not, the facts will of themselves tend to lay upon protectionism the burden of establishing, by something more than mere concomitancy, a causal relation between commercial restraint and wages relatively high. But what if, besides doing this, I show (and it is easy) that wages which may have been partially and relatively high under protection, have become both generally and absolutely higher, and greatly higher, under free trade?

"That protection may coexist with high wages, that it may not of itself neutralize all the gifts and favors of nature, that it does not as a matter of course make a rich country into a poor one—all this may be true, but is nothing to the point. The true question is whether protection offers us the way to the maximum of attainable wage. This can only be done by raising to the utmost attainable height the fund out of which wages and profit alike are drawn. If its tendency is not to increase, but to diminish, that fund, then protection is a bar to high wages, not their cause; and is, therefore, the enemy, not the friend, of the classes on whose wages their livelihood depends."

Mr. Gladstone quotes the tables of the Board of Trade for England, comparing the wages of 1833 with those of 1883—just half a century—showing, the English statesman assumes, an advance in wages due to the British change from protection to free trade. "The wages of miners, we learn, have increased in Staffordshire (which almost certainly is the mining district of lowest increment) by 50 per cent. In the great exportable manufactures of Bradford and Huddersfield, the lowest augmentations are 20 and 30 per cent., and in other branches they rise to 50, 83, 100, and even to 150 and 160 per cent. The quasi-domestic trades of carpenters, bricklayers, and masons, in the great marts of Glasgow and Manchester, show a mean increase of 63 per cent. for the first, 65 per cent. for the second, and 47 per cent. for the third. The lowest weekly wage named for an adult is twenty-two shillings (as against seventeen shillings in 1833), and the highest thirty-six shillings. But it is the relative rate with which we have to do; and, as the American writer appears to contemplate with a peculiar dread the effect of free trade upon shipping, I further quote Mr. Giffen on the monthly wages of seamen in 1833 and 1883 in Bristol, Glasgow, Liverpool, and London. 'The percentage of increase since we have passed from the protective system of the Navigation Law into free trade is, in Bristol 66 per cent., in Glasgow 55 per cent., in Liverpool (for different classes) from 25 per cent. to 70 per cent., and in London from 45 per

cent. to 69 per cent.' Mr. Giffen has given the figures in all the cases where he could be sufficiently certain of exactitude. No such return, at once exact and comprehensive, can be supplied in the case of the rural workman. But here the facts are notorious. We are assured that there has been an universal rise (somewhat checked, I fear, by the recent agricultural distress), which Caird and other authorities place at 60 per cent. Mr. Giffen apparently concurs; and, so far as my own personal sphere of observation reaches, I can with confidence confirm the estimate and declare it to be moderate. Together with this increase of pay there has been a general diminution of the hours of work, which Mr. Giffen places at one-fifth. If we make this correction upon the comparative table, we shall find that the cases are very few in which the increment does not range as high as from 50 and toward 100 per cent."

Mr. Gladstone adds: "A country cannot possibly raise its aggregate wage fund by protection, but must inevitably reduce it. It is a contrivance for producing dear and for selling dear, under cover of a wall or fence which shuts out the cheaper foreign article, or handicaps it on admission by the imposition of a heavy fine." And he holds that it is "the vast exceptional advantages which as a country the United States enjoy, which enable them to bear the process of depletion that, through the system of protection, it is their pleasure to undergo, and which for them cause the question to be one not of absolute

retrogression, but only of hampered and retarded progress." And the grand old Christian statesman adds: "The American love of freedom will, beyond all doubt, be to some extent qualified, perhaps in some cases impaired, by the subtle influence of gold, aggregated by many hands in vaster masses than have yet been known.

> Aurum per medios ire satellites,
> Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
> Ictu fulmineo.

"But, to rise higher still, how will the majestic figure, about to become the largest and most powerful on the stage of the world's history, make use of his power? Will it be instinct with moral life in proportion to its material strength?"

It is necessary to give this much of Mr. Gladstone to show the elevation of his argument, if for no other object than to show the spacious and lofty theme before Mr. Blaine, that drew from him his superb and famous reply. We have endeavored to be absolutely fair in reproducing Mr. Gladstone's most striking points and strongest expressions. Mr. Blaine opened with the stately courtesy becoming his opponent, referring to the celebrated budget and addresses supporting it of Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1853, declared by Lord John Russell "to contain the ablest exposition of the true principles of finance ever delivered by an English statesman." Mr. Blaine paid the tribute to Mr. Gladstone of pronouncing him the leading defender of

British free trade by reason of "his illustrious character, his great ability, and his financial experience," and added that "Americans of all classes hold him in honor;" and while free traders would "rejoice in so eminent an advocate," protectionists, "always representative of liberty and progress," would be "glad to learn his opinion upon a question of such transcendent importance to the past, the present, and the future of the Republic." Mr. Blaine, after these well-chosen words of compliment, proceeded with his historical statement and elucidation.

Mr. Blaine referred to the universality of application demanded by Mr. Gladstone for the free trade theory, and said:

"In urging its adoption he makes no distinction between countries; he takes no account of geographical position—whether a nation be in the eastern or the western hemisphere, whether it be north or south of the equator; he pays no heed to climate, or product, or degree of advancement; none to topography —whether the country be as level as the delta of the Nile, or as mountainous as the Republic of Bolivia; none to pursuits and employments, whether in the agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial field; none to the wealth or poverty of a people; none to population, whether it be crowded or sparse; none to area, whether it be as limited as a German principality or as extended as a continental empire. Free trade he believes advantageous for England; therefore, without the allowance of any

modifying condition, great or small, the English economist declares it to be advantageous for the United States, for Brazil, for Australia; in short, for all countries with which England can establish trade relations. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for Mr. Gladstone to find any principle of administration or any measure of finance so exactly fitted to the varying needs of all countries as he assumes the policy of free trade to be. Surely it is not unfair to maintain that, deducing his results from observation and experience in his own country, he may fall into error and fail to appreciate the financial workings of other countries geographically remote and of vastly greater area."

The differences between the United States and England were traced by Mr. Blaine—one a monarchy on an island, the other a Republic on a continent; one thickly and the other thinly settled; one of a rich and complex civilization before the other was foreseen. Under this head he said:

"Great Britain is an island less than ninety thousand square miles in extent. It lies in the far north. Its southernmost point is nearly thirty degrees of latitude above the tropics. Its northernmost point is but nine degrees below the arctic circle. Within its area the exchange of natural products is necessarily limited. Its life depends upon its connection with other countries. Its prosperity rests upon its commerce with the world. On the other hand, a single State of the Union is nearly three times as

large as Great Britain. Several other States are each quite equal to it in area. The whole Union is well-nigh forty times as large. Alaska excepted, the northernmost point of the Union is sixty miles south of the southernmost point of Great Britain, and the southernmost point of the Union is but little more than a hundred miles from the tropics. Its natural products are more varied, more numerous, and of more valuable character than those of all Europe. To quote one of Mr. Gladstone's phrases, we constitute 'not so much a country in ourselves, as a world.' He tells us that we carry on 'the business of domestic exchanges on a scale such as mankind has never seen.' Our foreign commerce, very large in itself, is only as one to twenty-five compared to our internal trade. And yet Mr. Gladstone thinks that a policy which is essential to an island in the northern ocean should be adopted as the policy of a country which even to his own vision is 'a world within itself.'

"He defends free trade in Great Britain. He assails protection in the United States. The first proposition I neither deny nor affirm. Were I to assume that protection is in all countries and under all circumstances the wisest policy, I should be guilty of an error similar to that which I think Mr. Gladstone commits. It might be difficult to prove that free trade is not the wisest financial policy for Great Britain. So far from guarding herself against material imported from other countries, her industrial

system would wither and die if foreign products were withheld for even a brief period. She is in an especial degree dependent upon the products of other nations. Moreover, she does not feel bound to pay heed to the rate of wages which her labor may receive. That, like the fabrics which her labor creates, must take its chance in the markets of the world.

"On many points and in many respects it was far different with Great Britain a hundred years ago. She did not then feel assured that she could bear the competition of Continental nations. She was, therefore, aggressively, even cruelly, protective. She manufactured for herself and for her net-work of colonies reaching around the globe. Into those colonies no other nation could carry anything. There was no scale of duty upon which other nations could enter a colonial port. What the colonies needed outside of British products could be furnished to them only in British ships. This was not protection! It was prohibition, absolute and remorseless, and it was continued even to the day when Mr. Gladstone entered upon his long and splendid career in Parliament. It was not broken, though in some respects it was relaxed, until in the fullness of time British energy had carried the wealth and the skill of the kingdom to the point where no competition could be feared.

"During the last thirty years of her protective system, and especially during the twenty years from

1826 to 1846, Great Britain increased her material wealth beyond all precedent in the commercial history of the world. Finally, with a vast capital accumulated, with a low rate of interest established, and with a manufacturing power unequalled, the British merchants were ready to underbid all rivals in seeking for the trade of the world.

"At that moment Great Britain had reason to feel supremely content. She found under her own flag, on the shores of every ocean, a host of consumers whom no man might number. She had Canada, Australia, and India with open ports and free markets for all her fabrics; and more than all these combined, she found the United States suddenly and seriously lowering her tariff and effectively abolishing protection at the very moment England was declaring for free trade.

"One of the most suggestive experiments of that kind had its origin in the tariff to which I have just referred, passed in 1846, in apparent harmony with England's newly-declared financial policy. At that moment a Southern President (Mr. Polk) and a Southern Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Robert J. Walker) were far more interested in expanding the area of slave territory than in advancing home manufactures, and were especially eager to make commercial exchanges with Europe on the somewhat difficult basis of cotton at high prices and returning fabrics at low prices.

"Under ordinary circumstances the free-trade

tariff of 1846 would have promptly fallen under popular reprobation and been doomed to speedy repeal. But it had a singular history and for a time was generally acquiesced in, even attaining in many sections a certain degree of popularity. Never did any other tariff meet with so many and so great aids of an adventitious character to sustain it as did this enactment of 1846. Our war with Mexico began just as the duties were lowered, and the consequence was the disbursement of more than one hundred millions of dollars in a way that reached all localities and favorably affected all interests. This was a great sum of money for that period, and for the years 1846, 1847, and 1848 it considerably more than doubled the ordinary outlay of the government. In the middle of this period the Irish famine occurred and called for an immense export of breadstuffs at high prices. The discovery of gold in California, the succeeding year, flushed the channels of business as never before, by rapidly enlarging the circulation of coin in all parts of the country. Before this outpouring of gold had ceased, the three great nations of Europe, as precedence was reckoned at that time—England, France, and Russia—entered upon the Crimean War. The export of manufactures from England and France was checked; the breadstuffs of Russia were blockaded and could not reach the markets of the world. An extraordinary stimulus was thus given to all forms of trade in the United States. For ten years—1846 to 1856—these

adventitious aids came in regular succession and exerted their powerful influence upon the prosperity of the country.

"The withdrawal or termination of these influences, by a treaty of peace in Europe and by the surcease of gold from California, placed the tariff of 1846 where a real test of its merits or its demerits could be made. It was everywhere asked with apprehension and anxiety, Will this free-trade tariff now develop and sustain the business of the country as firmly and securely as it has been developed and sustained by protection? The answer was made in the ensuing year by a widespread financial panic, which involved the ruin of thousands, including proportionately as many in the South as in the North, leaving the country disordered and distressed in all the avenues of trade. The disastrous results of this tariff upon the permanent industries of the country are described in President Buchanan's well-remembered message, communicated to Congress after the panic: 'With unsurpassed plenty in all the elements of national wealth, our manufacturers have suspended, our public works are retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want.'

"If these disasters of 1857, flowing from the free-trade tariff, could have been regarded as exceptional, if they had been without parallel or precedent, they might not have had so deadly a significance. But

the American people had twice before passed through a similar experience. On the eve of the war of 1812 Congress guarded the national strength by enacting a highly protective tariff. By its own terms this tariff must end with the war. When the new tariff was to be formed, a popular cry arose against "war duties," though the country had prospered under them, despite the exhausting effect of the struggle with Great Britain. But the prayer of the people was answered, and the war duties were dropped from the tariff of 1816.

"Relief came at last with the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824, to the support of which leading men of both parties patriotically united for the common good. That Act, supplemented by the Act of 1828, brought genuine prosperity to the country. The credit of passing the two Protective Acts was not due to one party alone. It was the work of the great men of both parties. Mr. Clay and General Jackson, Mr. Webster and Mr. Van Buren, General William Henry Harrison and Richard M. Johnson, Silas Wright and Louis McLane, voted for one or the other of these Acts, and several of them voted for both. The co-operation of these eminent men is a great historic tribute to the necessity and value of protection. Plenty and prosperity followed.

"Sectional jealousy and partisan zeal could not endure the great development of manufactures in the North and East which followed the apparently firm establishment of the protective policy. The free-trade

leaders of the South believed—at least they persuaded others to believe—that the manufacturing States were prospering at the expense of the planting States.

"For a time satisfaction was felt with the tariff adjustment of 1833, because it was regarded as at least a temporary reconciliation between two sections of the Union. Before the sliding scale was ruinously advanced there was a great stimulus to manufacturing and to trade, which finally assumed the form of dangerous speculation. The years 1834, 1835, and 1836 were distinguished for all manner of business hazard, and before the fourth year opened the 30 per cent. reduction (three years of 10 per cent. each) on the scale of duties was beginning to influence trade unfavorably. The apprehension of evil soon became general, public confidence was shaken, the panic of 1837 ensued, and business reversals were rapid, general, and devastating.

"The trouble increased through 1838, 1839, and 1840, and the party in power, held responsible for the financial disasters, fell under popular condemnation.

"Measuring, therefore, from 1812, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the government in the approaching war with Great Britain, to 1861, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the government in the impending revolt of the Southern States, we have fifty years of suggestive experience in the

history of the republic. During this long period free-trade tariffs were thrice followed by industrial stagnation, by financial embarrassment, by distress among all classes dependent for subsistence upon their own labor. Thrice were these burdens removed by the enactment of a protective tariff. Thrice the protective tariff promptly led to industrial activity, to financial ease, to prosperity among the people. And this happy condition lasted in each case, with no diminution of its beneficent influence, until illegitimate political combinations, having their origin in personal and sectional aims, precipitated another era of free trade. A perfectly impartial man, unswerved by the excitement which this question engenders in popular discussion, might safely be asked if the half-century's experience, with its three trials of both systems, did not establish the wisdom of protection in the United States.

"As an offset to the charge that free-trade tariffs have always ended in panics and long periods of financial distress, the advocates of free trade point to the fact that a financial panic of great severity fell upon the country in 1873, when the protective tariff of 1861 was in full force, and that, therefore, panic and distress follow periods of protection as well as periods of free trade. It is true that a financial panic occurred in 1873, and its existence would blunt the force of my argument if there were not an imperatively truthful way of accounting for it as a distinct result from entirely distinct causes. The

panic of 1873 was widely different in its true origin from those which I have been exposing. The Civil War, which closed in 1865, had sacrificed on both sides a vast amount of property. Reckoning the money directly expended, the value of property destroyed, and the production arrested and prevented, the total is estimated to be nine thousand millions of dollars. The producers of the country had been seriously diminished in number. A half million men had been killed. A million more had been disabled in various degrees. Help was needed in the honorable form of pensions, and the aggregate required for this purpose exceeded all anticipation, and has annually absorbed an immense proportion of the national income. The public debt that must be funded reached nearly three thousand millions, demanding at the beginning more than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars for annual interest. A great proportion of the debt, when funding was complete, was held in Europe, calling for an enormous export of gold, or its equivalent, to meet the interest.

"Besides these burdens upon the people, the country was on a basis of paper money, and all gold payments added a heavy premium to the weight of the obligation. The situation was without parallel. The speculative mania which always accompanies war had swollen private obligations to a perilous extent, and the important question arose of restoring coin payment. On the one hand, it was

contended that to enforce the measure would create a panic by the shrinkage of prices which would follow; and on the other hand, it was urged with equal zeal that to postpone it longer would increase the general distrust among the people as to the real condition of the country, and thus add to the severity of the panic, if one should be precipitated.

"Notwithstanding the evil prophecies on both sides, the panic did not come until eight and a half years after the firing of the last gun in the Civil War. Nor did it come until after two great calamities in the years immediately preceding had caused the expenditure of more than two hundred millions of dollars, suddenly withdrawn from the ordinary channels of business. The rapid and extensive rebuilding in Chicago and Boston, after the destructive fires of 1871 and 1872, had a closer connection with the panic of 1873 than is commonly thought. Still further, the six-years' depression, from 1873 to 1879, involved individual suffering rather than general distress. The country, as a whole, never advanced in wealth more rapidly than during that period. The entire experience strengthened the belief that the war for the Union could not have been maintained upon a free-trade basis, and that the panic of 1873 only proved the strength of the safeguard which protection supplies to a people surrounded by such multiform embarrassments as were the people of the United States during the few years immediately following the war. And, strongest of all points,

the financial distress was relieved and prosperity restored under protection, whereas the ruinous effects of panics under free trade have never been removed except by a resort to protection.

"With free trade we should have been compelled to pay, during the war, gold coin for European fabrics, while during the strain of war legal tender paper was the universal currency. In other words, when the life of the country depended upon the government's ability to make its own notes perform the function of money, the free-trader's policy would have demanded daily gold for daily bread. Viewing the country from 1861 to 1889—full twenty-eight years—the longest undisturbed period in which either protection or free trade has been tried in this country —I ask Mr. Gladstone if a parallel can be found to the material advancement of the United States."

As to the comparative increase of the wealth of the two countries Mr. Blaine says: "I take the official figures of the census in the United States, and for the United Kingdom I quote from Mr. Giffen, who is commended by Mr. Gladstone as the best authority in England:

"'In 1860 the population of the United States was in round numbers 31,000,000. At the same time the population of the United Kingdom was in round numbers 29,000,000. The wealth of the United States at that time was fourteen thousand millions of dollars; the wealth of the United Kingdom was twenty-nine thousand millions of dollars.

The United Kingdom had, therefore, nearly the same population, but more than double the wealth of the United States, with machinery for manufacturing four-fold greater than that of the United States. At the end of twenty years (1880), it appeared that the United States had added nearly thirty thousand millions of dollars to her wealth, while the United Kingdom had added nearly fifteen thousand millions, or about one-half.'

"The United Kingdom had in twenty years increased her *per-capita* wealth 23 per cent., while the United States had increased her *per-capita* wealth more than 93 per cent. If allowances should be made for war losses, the ratio of gain in the United States would far exceed 100 per cent."

Mr. Blaine cites facts: "'1. John Edgar Thompson, late president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, purchased one hundred tons of steel rails in 1862 at a price (freight paid to New York; duty of 45 per cent. unpaid) of $103.44 gold coin. (By way of illustrating Mr. Gladstone's claim to superior quality of manufactures under free trade, the railroad company states that many of the rails broke during the first winter's trial.) In 1864 English rails had fallen to $88 per ton in New York, the freight paid and the duty unpaid. English manufacturers held the market for the ensuing six years, though the sales at the high prices were limited. In 1870 Congress laid a specific duty of $28 per ton on steel rails. From that time the home market has been held by

our own manufacturers, with a steady annual fall in price, as the facilities of production increased, until the past summer and autumn, when steel rails were selling in Pittsburg, Chicago, and London at substantially the same prices. Does any free-trader on either side of the ocean honestly believe that American rails could ever have been furnished as cheaply as English rails, except by the sturdy competition which the highly protective duty of 1870 enabled the American manufacturers to maintain against the foreign manufacturers in the first place, and among American manufacturers themselves in the second place? It is not asserted that during the nineteen years since the heavy duty was first established (except during the past few months) American rails have been as cheap in America as English rails have been in England, but it is asserted with perfect confidence that, steadily and invariably, American railroad companies have bought cheaper rails at home than they would have been able to buy in England if the protective duty had not stimulated the manufacture of steel rails in the United States, and if the resulting competition had not directly operated upon the English market.

"'2. English steel for locomotive tires imported in 1865, duty paid, was thirty-four cents per pound in gold. The American competition, under a heavy protective duty, had by 1872 reduced the price to thirteen cents per pound, duty paid. At the present time (1889) American steel for locomotive tires, of

as good quality as the English steel formerly imported, is furnished at four and three-quarter cents per pound, and delivered free of cost at the point where the locomotives are manufactured. The lowering of price was not a voluntary act on the part of the English manufacturer. It was the direct result of American competition under a protective duty—a competition that could not have been successfully inaugurated under free trade.'

"In woollens, in cottons, in leather fabrics; in glass, in products of lead, of brass, of copper; indeed, in the whole round of manufactures, it will be found that protection has brought down the price from the rate charged by the importers before protection had built up the competing manufacture in America. For many articles we pay less than is paid in Europe. If we pay higher for other things than is paid across the sea to-day, figures plainly indicate that we pay less than we should have been compelled to pay if the protective system had not been adopted; and I beg Mr. Gladstone's attention to the fact that the American people have much more wherewith to pay than they ever had or could have under free trade.

"Mr. Gladstone boldly contends that 'keeping capital at home by protection is dear production, and is a delusion from top to bottom.' I take direct issue with him on that proposition. Between 1870 and the present time considerably more than one hundred thousand miles of railroad have been built in the United States. The steel rail and other metal con-

nected therewith involved so vast a sum of money that it could not have been raised to send out of the country in gold coin. The total cost could not have been less than five hundred millions of dollars. We had a large interest to pay abroad on the public debt, and for nine years after 1870 gold was at a premium in the United States. During those years nearly forty thousand miles of railway were constructed, and to import English rail and pay for it with gold bought at a large premium would have been impossible. A very large proportion of the railway enterprises would of necessity have been abandoned if the export of gold to pay for the rails had been the condition precedent to their construction. But the manufacture of steel rails at home gave an immense stimulus to business. Tens of thousands of men were paid good wages, and great investments and great enrichments followed the line of the new road, and opened to the American people large fields for enterprise not theretofore accessible.

"Protectionists owe many thanks to Mr. Gladstone for his outspoken mode of dealing with this question of free trade. He gives us his conclusions without qualification and without disguise. The American free-trader is not so sincere. He is ever presenting half-truths and holding back the other half, thus creating false impressions and leading to false conclusions. But Mr. Gladstone is entirely frank. He tells the laborers on protected articles that they would be better engaged in 'raising more

cereals and more cotton at low prices.' Where does Mr. Gladstone suggest a market for the additional grain and cotton to be raised by American mechanics becoming farmers and increasing the production of those great staples? The foreign market is filled with a competing grain-supply to such a degree that already the price of wheat is unduly lowered to the Western farmer. The farmer needs a still larger home consumption of his grain, while Mr. Gladstone thinks he needs a still larger home production.

"Mr. Gladstone makes another statement of great frankness and of great value. Comparing the pursuits in the United States which require no protection with those that are protected, he says: 'No adversary will, I think, venture upon saying that the profits are larger in protected than in unprotected industries.' This is very true, and Mr. Gladstone may be surprised to hear that the constant objection made by American free-traders against the 'protected industries,' as he terms them, is that the profits derived from them are illegitimately large. Mr. Gladstone sees clearly that as a rule this is not true, and he at once discerns the reason. He says 'the best opinions seem to testify that in your protected trades profits are hard pressed by wages.' The free-traders of America try by every cunning device to hide this fact. Its admission is fatal to their cause. Not one free-trade organ or leader among them all dares to take his position beside Mr. Gladstone and plainly tell the truth to the American

laborer. Not one free-trade organ or leader dares frankly to say to the great body of American workmen that the destruction of protection inevitably and largely reduces their daily wages. I thank Mr. Gladstone for his testimony, at once accurate and acute. It is fair to presume that he intends it to be applied to the unprotected manufacturer in England and to the protected manufacturer in America, both producing the same article. His logic gives, and I have no doubt truly, as large profit to the manufacturer of England, selling at a low price, as to the manufacturer of America, selling at a high price—the difference consisting wholly in the superior wages paid to the American mechanic.

"There is another important effect of protective duties which Mr. Gladstone does not include in his frank admission. He sees that the laborers in what he calls the 'protected industries' secure high pay, especially as compared with the European school of wages. He perhaps does not see that the effect is to raise the wages of all persons in the United States engaged in what Mr. Gladstone calls the 'unprotected industries.' Printers, bricklayers, carpenters, and all others of that class are paid as high wages as those of any other trade or calling, but if the wages of all those in the protected classes were suddenly struck down to the English standard, the others must follow. A million men cannot be kept at work for half the pay that another million men are receiv-

ing in the same country. Both classes must go up or must go down together.

"The zeal of Mr. Gladstone for free trade reaches its highest point in the declaration that 'all protection is *morally* as well as economically bad.' He is right in making this his strongest ground of opposition, if protection is a question of morals. But his assertion leaves him in an attitude of personal inconsistency. There is protection on sea as well as on land. Indeed, the most palpable and effective form of protection is in the direct payment of public money to a line of steamers that could not be maintained without that form of aid. I do not say that such aid is unwise protection; least of all do I say it is immoral. On the contrary, I think it has often proved the highest commercial wisdom, without in the least infringing upon the domain of morals.

"It may be urged that this sum was paid for carrying the Anglo-American mails, but that argument will not avail a free-trader, because steamers of other nationalities stood ready to carry the mails at a far cheaper rate." Mr. Blaine cites incidents in proof.

"Does Mr. Gladstone's estimate of the immorality of protection apply only to protection on land, or is supremacy on the sea so important to British interests that it is better to throw morals to the wind and resort to whatever degree of protection may be necessary to secure the lead to English ships? The doctrine of improving harbors in the United States by the National Government was for many years

severely contested, the strict construction party maintaining that it must be confined to harbors on the seacoast at points where foreign commerce reaches the country. During one of the many discussions over this narrow construction, an Ohio member of Congress declared that he 'could not think much of a Constitution that would not stand being dipped in fresh water as well as salt.' I fear that Mr. Gladstone's code of morals on this question of protection will not secure much respect in other countries so long as it spoils in salt water.

"Navigation is the weakest of the great interests in the United States, because it is the one which the National Government has constantly refused to protect. If since the Civil War the United States had spent in protecting her shipping merely the annual interest on the great sum which England has expended to protect her ocean traffic, American fleets would now be rivaling the fleets of England, as they rivaled them before the war, on every sea where the prospect of commercial gain invites the American flag.

"The opposition to the policy of extending our foreign commerce by aiding steamship lines with a small sum, just as we have aided internal commerce on railroads with a vast sum, originates with the American free-trader. It is for the free-trader to explain why, if the cost of transportation be made the same, the United States cannot compete with England in every country in South America in all

the articles of which we sell a larger amount in Canada than England does. I append a note naming the American articles sold in Canada, and the free-trader, if candid, will admit that the list is one which is constantly and rapidly increasing.

"Mr. Gladstone and the American free-trader have the duty of explaining why the agricultural States of the West have grown in wealth during the long period of protection at a more rapid rate than the manufacturing States of the East.

"In 1860 eight manufacturing States of the East (the six of New England, together with New York and Pennsylvania,) returned an aggregate wealth of $5,123,000,000. Twenty years afterward, by the census of 1880, the same States returned an aggregate wealth of $16,228,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was slightly more than 216 per cent.

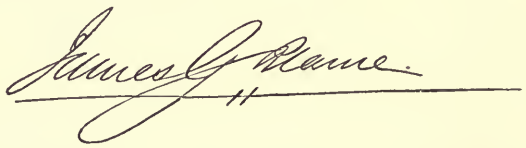
"Let us see how the agricultural States fared during this period. By the census of 1860 eight agricultural States of the West (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Wisconsin) returned an aggregate wealth of $2,271,000,000. Twenty years afterward, by the census of 1880 (protection all the while in full force), these same States returned an aggregate wealth of $11,268,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 396 per cent., or 180 per cent. greater than the increase in the eight manufacturing States of the East.

"The case will be equally striking if we take the fifteen Southern States that were slaveholding in 1860. By the census of that year the aggregate return of their property was $6,792,000,000. But $2,000,000,000 was slave property. Deducting that, the total property amounted to $4,792,000,000. Their aggregate return of wealth by the census of 1880 was $8,633,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 80 per cent. Consider that during this period eleven States of the South were impoverished by civil war to an extent far greater than any country has been despoiled in the wars of modern Europe. Consider that the labor system, on which previous wealth had been acquired in the South, was entirely broken up; and yet, at the end of twenty years, the Southern States had repaired all their enormous losses and possessed nearly double the wealth they had ever known before.

"It may perhaps surprise Mr. Gladstone to be told that out of the fifty largest fortunes in the United States—those that have arrested public attention within the last ten years—certainly not more than one has been derived from protected manufacturing; and this was amassed by a gentleman of the same Scotch blood with Mr. Gladstone himself. The forty-nine other fortunes were acquired from railway and telegraph investments, from real estate investments, from the import and sale of foreign goods, from banking, from speculations in the stock market, from fortunate mining investments, from patented

inventions, and more than one from proprietary medicines.

"In no event can the growth of large fortunes be laid to the charge of the protective policy. Protection has proved a distributor of great sums of money; not an agency for amassing it in the hands of a few. The records of our savings banks and building associations can be appealed to in support of this statement. The benefit of protection goes first and last to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces. The auspicious and momentous result is that never before in the history of the world has comfort been enjoyed, education acquired, and independence secured by so large a proportion of the total population as in the United States of America."



A most instructive work on the *History of Protection and Prosperity* has just been completed, after fifteen years of zealous labor, by Mr. George B. Curtis, of Binghamton, N. Y. It has been wrought thoroughly and with great ability. It is stored with matter of the greatest interest. Mr. Curtis says:

"The best thought of the world bearing upon the various phases of the question is reflected in the following pages. An attempt has been made to verify every statement by facts and figures of the most

reliable character. This work is dedicated to the Republican party. If its merits are in keeping with the importance of the subject treated, it will be a fitting tribute to the political organization which has ever defended the toiling masses, and with patriotic zeal labored earnestly to promote the welfare of every citizen and every section of our great Republic, standing at all times and under all circumstances as a bold and aggressive advocate and defender of the industrial and commercial interests of the nation."

Three eminent Republicans have written introductions to this immense work—Gov. L. P. Morton, Speaker Reed, and Major McKinley, who was deeply gratified by the research that is evident, the clearness of the statements, and the steady, simple force of recitation and argument. One of the portions of the volume by Mr. Curtiss tells the story of protection in England, so strikingly touched upon in passages just quoted from Mr. Blaine's reply to Gladstone. The introduction by Major McKinley is an excellent example of his style, and it forms an admirable supplement to Mr. Blaine's essay. McKinley says:

"The experiences of States and of Nations are of far more value in solving the perplexing economic questions which confront us than the boldest assumptions of theorists. An eminent English economist of the latter day school not long since took the courageous stand that no mere theorist had a right to expect intelligent people, who investigated for

themselves, to believe implicitly in theoretical political economy when confronted by practical men who had at their finger ends facts, history, and statistics which pointed in the opposite direction. That this same professor should frankly avow in the article on Political Economy in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that the widespread dissatisfaction with the existing state of economic science made it inexpedient to attempt a new dogmatic treatise on political economy, indicates much difference of opinion and uncertainty in matters that we were once told by British economists were as settled as the laws of gravitation. The fact is, political science, like all other branches of human knowledge, is more or less in a transient state, and free and full discussion by sober and intelligent men is sure to yield valuable results. More particularly is this true when the discussion is illuminated by such an array of data from all sources as may be found in this volume. Those of us who believe the American policy of protection is best adapted to our citizenship and civilization are naturally glad to welcome the experiences of other nations when they sustain, beyond the question of doubt, the judgment of our own people, though our own belief is sustained by the highest American authorities, from Washington down, and by a hundred years of experience. We know what it has already accomplished for a self-governed people.

"The world knows of the wonderful progress we

have made. The experience of the United States in diversifying industries and developing its home market has contributed more or less to the growing disregard for the maxims of schoolmen and theorists, and increased the value of the unimpeachable testimony of trade and experience.

"The scope of this volume practically covers the history of the world's trade and commerce. The author has undoubtedly devoted years of patient research to gathering and arranging his material and presenting his argument. After a careful examination of the results of this stupendous piece of work the fair-minded American student and reader will close the book with the conclusion that in our own American policy we have nothing to take back, nothing to apologize for. Under similar conditions our experience has been precisely the same as the experience of other nations. In some ways it has even been England's own experience. A low tariff or no tariff has always increased the importation of foreign goods until our money ran out, multiplied our foreign obligations, produced a balance of trade against the country, supplanted the domestic producer and manufacturer, impaired the farmer's home market without improving his market abroad, undermined domestic prosperity, decreased the industries of the nation, diminished the value of nearly all our property and investments, and robbed labor of its just rewards. The lower the tariff the more widespread and aggravated have been these condi-

tions which paralyze our progress and industries. This is the verdict of our history, and, as the author of this valuable work demonstrates, with a clearness that should carry conviction, it has been the verdict of history in the case of other nations, if facts and figures may be relied upon to point out such results.

"We try nations as they appear on the balance sheet of the world. We try systems by results; we are too practical a people for theory. We know what we have done and are doing under the economic system we advocate. For this reason alone the labor performed by the author of *Protection and Prosperity* is justified, and the results will be of permanent value.

"It is worthy of note that England pursued a policy of free trade up to nearly the fifteenth century, relying upon the Italians and Dutch for all implements, tools, and clothing; that even the wholesale and retail trade of the country was monopolized by aliens; that as long as this condition prevailed no industrial progress is found to have taken place; that the first steps toward a domestic industrial policy is found in a revolt on the part of English merchants in some of the cities against the competition of alien merchants, which resulted in their exclusion from the wholesale and retail trade of the country. This was followed by the granting of charters to Trade Guilds, which became industrial training schools for the building up of an artisan class; and the adoption of legislation which secured to them the home mar-

ket by excluding the import of a large number of tools, implements, and various fabrics; that a vigorous policy of protection was entered upon during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which was continued and applied with great vigor until 1846. The encouragement given to shipping, fisheries, and the establishment of trading companies, induced the building of a merchant marine and the establishment of foreign trade; while the protection given to domestic industries stimulated and fostered the commercial and industrial classes and the establishment of manufactories, until Great Britain became the workshop of the world. While these facts have been pointed out in a general way, the historical details, from a protectionist point of view, have not been so connectedly and fully presented in any other work which has come under my notice.

"The historical facts as herein presented leave little doubt that it was through the policy of protection that Great Britain became the richest and most powerful nation on the globe. It is well to bear in mind that as a rule the advocates of free trade have almost exclusively been the chroniclers of this period of England's industrial history. They have handled these facts so often and so absolutely to their own liking that the author has pointed out with clearness how grievously the truth has been distorted. Mr. Curtiss seems to have his facts well in hand, and one of the most satisfactory features of the book is that he gives without stint his authorities. That

there will be controversy over the chapter in which he traces the growth of industries and industrial prosperity from the close of the Napoleonic wars until the adoption of free trade, I have no doubt; but, nevertheless, he has the data well in hand, which he freely submits to the reader to sustain his end of the question. The facts and figures here produced, in a measure, at least, refute the oft-repeated misrepresentation of free-trade writers that British industries were languishing under protection, and that this was the principal cause which induced the English to abandon their policy. Supported by statistical information, it is shown that the last half century under protection was a period of marvelous growth and development, in the increase of population, the growth of cities, the progress made in agriculture, manufacturing, mining, trade, and commerce.

"It was undoubtedly the desire for cheapness in production that would enable Great Britain to control the markets of the world that induced the British people to abandon protection and adopt free trade. It may be found in the fact that through the use of machinery, the accumulation of capital, the efficiency of artisans, a vast colonial system, foreign trade and industries, the English people had become in advance of all other nations, and able, through a system of free trade, to invade all foreign countries with their fabrics, suppress and prevent the establishment of rival industries, and control and monopolize the markets of the world. This cry of "cheapness"

rang through England fifty years ago. It was the voice and philosophy of Cobden; it was the false and alluring appeal urged for the reversal of Great Britain's industrial policy from protection to free trade. It was the hypocritical cant against which the beloved Kingsley thundered his bold denunciations—that dear and revered churchman, whose memory is cherished wherever the English tongue is spoken. Here is his characterization of it:

"'Next you have the Manchester school, from which Heaven defend us! For all narrow, conceited, hypocritical, and anarchic schemes of the universe the Cobden and Bright one is exactly the worst. To pretend to be the workmen's friends by keeping down the price of bread when all they want thereby is to keep down wages and increase profits, and in the meantime to widen the gulf between the workingman and all that is time-honored and chivalrous in English society, that they may make the men their divided slaves—that is, perhaps, half unconsciously, for there are excellent men among them, the game of the Manchester school.'

"The chapter on Germany is of special interest. The speeches and economic policy of Bismarck furnish a splendid indorsement of the policy of protection. In fact, the results of protection in Germany, Russia, France, and all Continental countries are shown to be very satisfactory. An important point brought out and apparently sustained in every instance by the experience of Continental countries

and of the United States is, that where an industrial nation has for a short period reduced its duties and practiced, or approached, free trade, the result has been disastrous, and the nation has been compelled in a short time to return to the policy of protection, in order to preserve and restore to life its crippled and decaying industries. While, on the other hand, the policy of protection wherever pursued, whether for a short or long period, has imparted life and activity, resulted in the development of domestic industries, thrift, enterprise, prosperity, and the accumulation of wealth. Its benefits have ever manifested themselves in the improved condition of the masses. The longer and the more continuously this policy has been pursued, the more steady and vigorous has become the growth and development of all productive industries. The data Mr. Curtiss marshals in support of this view would seem to be reliable and incontrovertible."

The *Protection and Prosperity* book of Mr. Curtiss is indeed an arsenal for public writers and speakers, and it is the greatest of campaign documents. Not only is the commendation of Major McKinley one of striking propriety and pertinence —it bears testimony to the constant ardor of the Republican candidate in bringing his studies up to the present—but it furnishes an example of the versatile force he displays in whatever he discusses that has application to current events.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION.

The organization and speeches of the presiding officers—The platform—The nominating speeches and ballots nominating the candidates for President and Vice-President.

THE delegates to the Republican National Convention of 1896, assembled at St. Louis certain that the nomination of the President had been made by their constituents. William McKinley, of Ohio, was manifestly the choice of the people, because he was, more than any other man, identified with the protection of American industry. His opponents had agitated the money question—whether the Convention should declare for a gold standard by way of diversion, and as it was doubtful whether the explicit use of the word "gold" would be approved, interest centered temporarily upon that issue. The gathering of the delegates only increased the McKinley sentiment, and there were doubts whether the nomination for the great office would not be forced by acclamation. However, it was determined to make the record. The high compliment of the Temporary Chairmanship of the Convention

was conferred upon C. W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, a Republican long of prominence in that State and of steadily increasing importance. His speech, upon taking the chair, was full of telling passages. We find space for some of them especially forcible:

"Under the operation of honest tariff and honest-money Republican laws the country grew in wealth and power beyond precedent. We easily outstripped all other Powers in the commercial race. On November 8th, 1892, there was work for every hand and bread for every mouth. We had reached high-water mark. Labor received higher wages than ever, and capital was profitably and securely employed. The national revenues were sufficient to meet our obligations and leave a surplus in the treasury. Foreign and domestic trade were greater in volume and value than they had ever been. Foreign balances were largely in our favor. European gold was flowing toward us. But all of this is changed. The cause is not hard to see. A reaction began when it was known that the legislative and executive branches of the government were to be Democratic. . . . The imperilled interests of the country watched and waited through the long and anxious months for some settlement of the important question. They wanted an end of uncertainty. At length the Wilson bill was adopted, and it was characterized by a Democratic President as the child of 'perfidy and dishonor.' It was so bad that he would not contaminate his hand by signing it.

"This important law was wanting in the primary purpose of a revenue measure, for it failed to provide adequate revenue to meet the requirements of the Government. The deficiency thus far amounts to some $95,000,000. The end is not yet, for the deficiency grows day by day. This leaves the Treasury and public credit in constant peril. Our foreign credit is impaired, and domestic capital feels insecure.

"The bill struck down reciprocity, one of the highest achievements in American statesmanship. No measure was ever enacted which more directly advanced the interests of the American farmers and manufacturers than reciprocity. With its destruction fell advantageous commercial agreements, under which their products were surely finding larger and profitable foreign markets, and without the surrender of their own. The substitution of ad valorem for specific duties has opened the way for systematic wholesale frauds upon the Treasury, and producers and employers of the country.

"Having attempted to reverse the tariff policy of the United States with such lamentable results, the Democratic party now proposes to reverse the currency policy. It turns to the currency as the parent of our ills. Its effort to shift the responsibility will deceive no one. Its attacks upon the tariff, its record of inefficiency and insincerity, are a part of the unfortunate history of the Republic.

"The present currency system is the fruit of Republican wisdom. It has been adequate to all our

past necessities, and if uncorrupted, will meet our future requirements. Our greatest prosperity was attained when Republican currency laws were in full operation. When the Republican party was in power our currency was good; it was made as good as the best on the globe. We made sound money; and we also made an honest protective tariff to go with it. Sound money and an honest protective tariff go hand in hand together, not one before the other.

"The very foundation of a sound currency system is a solvent Treasury. If the people doubt the integrity of the Treasury they will question the soundness of the currency. Recognizing this fundamental fact, the Republican party always provided ample revenue for the Treasury. When in the last half-century of our history did the Democratic party advocate a financial policy that was in the best interests of the American people? Look at its ante-bellum currency record, consider its hostility to the currency rendered necessary by the exigency of war, and later, its effort to inflate the currency in a time of peace by the issue of greenbacks. Witness its opposition to the efforts of the Republican party to resume specie payments. But four short years ago it declared for a return to the old discredited bank currency."

On the second day of the Convention the Hon. John M. Thurston was chosen Permanent Chairman, with a Vice-President from each State. The address by the Permanent Chairman was one of the marked features of the Convention.

He said:

"*Gentlemen of the Convention:* The happy memory of your kindness and confidence will abide in my grateful heart forever. My sole ambition is to meet your expectations, and I pledge myself to exercise the important powers of this high office with absolute justice and impartiality. I bespeak your cordial co-operation and support, to the end that our proceedings may be orderly and dignified, as befits the deliberations of the supreme council of the Republican party.

"Eight years ago I had the distinguished honor to preside over the Convention which nominated the last Republican President of the United States. To-day I have the further distinguished honor to preside over the Convention which is to nominate the next President of the United States. This generation has had its object lesson, and the doom of the Democratic party is already pronounced. The American people will return the Republican party to power because they know that its administration will mean:

"The supremacy of the Constitution of the United States.

"The maintenance of law and order.

"The protection of every American citizen in his right to live, to labor, and to vote.

"A vigorous foreign policy.

"The enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.

"The restoration of our merchant marine.

"Safety under the Stars and Stripes on every sea, in every port.

"A revenue adequate for all governmental expenditures and the gradual extinguishment of the National debt.

"A currency 'as sound as the Government and as untarnished as its honor,' whose dollars, whether of gold, silver or paper, shall have equal purchasing and debt-paying power with the best dollars of the civilized world.

"A protective tariff which protects, coupled with a reciprocity which reciprocates, securing American markets for American products and opening American factories to the free coinage of American muscle.

"A pension policy just and generous to our living heroes, and to the widows and orphans of their dead comrades.

"The government supervision and control of transportation lines and rates.

"The protection of the people from all unlawful combinations and unjust exactions of aggregated capital and corporate power.

"An American welcome to every God-fearing, liberty-loving, Constitution-respecting, law-abiding, labor-seeking, decent man.

"The exclusion of all whose birth, whose blood, whose conditions, whose teachings, whose practices would menace the permanency of free institutions, endanger the safety of American society, or lessen the opportunities of American labor.

"The abolition of sectionalism—every star in the flag shining for the honor and welfare and happiness of every commonwealth and of all the people.

"A deathless loyalty to all that is truly American and a patriotism eternal as the stars."

The first trial of strength between the supporters of McKinley and his opponents was on the ordering the previous question on the report of the Committee on Credentials. McKinley affirmative and the opposition negative—the States voting:

States.	Yeas.	Nays.	States.	Yeas.	Nays.
Alabama,	19	3	New Jersey,	20	—
Arkansas,	16	—	New York,	18	52
California,	7	10	North Carolina,	16½	5½
Colorado,	—	8	North Dakota,	6	—
Connecticut,	—	12	Ohio,	46	—
Delaware,	—	—	Oregon,	—	8
Florida,	7	1	Pennsylvania,	5	59
Georgia,	20	6	Rhode Island,	—	8
Idaho,	—	6	South Carolina,	18	—
Illinois,	30	18	South Dakota,	8	—
Indiana,	27	3	Tennessee,	23	1
Iowa,	—	26	Texas,	16	8
Kansas,	20	—	Utah,	—	6
Kentucky,	23	3	Vermont,	4	3
Louisiana,	11	5	Virginia,	22	1
Maine,	—	12	Washington,	8	—
Maryland,	—	16	West Virginia,	12	—
Massachusetts,	2	28	Wisconsin,	24	—
Michigan,	28	—	Wyoming,	6	—
Minnesota,	18	—	Arizona,	4	2
Mississippi,	12	6	New Mexico,	1	5
Missouri,	20	14	Oklahoma,	4	2
Montana,	1	5	Indian Territory,	6	—
Nebraska,	16	—	Dist. of Columbia,	—	2
Nevada,	1	5	Alaska,	—	2
New Hampshire,	—	8	Totals,	545½	359½

The decisive day of the Convention was the third, Thursday, the 18th. The platform was approved and the candidates nominated in the course of one session. The Rev. John B. Scott, a colored man, prayed briefly, beginning: "Father of all, from whose hands the centuries fall like grains of sand, we meet to-day united, free, loyal." He asked a blessing on the Convention and its work, and closed with the recital of the Lord's Prayer. His gift in prayer was deeply felt by the Convention.

Senator-elect Foraker, of Ohio, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, read the platform in a clear voice.

THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in National Convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the bitter fruits of four years of Democratic control, as well as the matchless improvements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have now witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government.

It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In the administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable reve-

nue, eked out ordinary current running expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund for pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable of conducting it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequaled success and prosperity.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producers; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign de-

mand and price; it diffuses general thrift and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its responsible application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic party as sectional, partisan, and one-sided, and disastrous to the Treasury and destructive of business enterprise, and we demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the government, but will protect American labor from degradation and the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedule. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the condition of the times and of production. The ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry.

The Republican party renews its pledge for the protection of all American industries against foreign competition, and declares its faith that the supremacy of the United States among the nations is the result of such a policy. We believe in liberal reciprocity and just relation, and demand the application of the golden rule of commerce to all future legislation affecting the tariff and the foreign trade. We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangement negotiated by the last Republican administration was

a national calamity, and demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, and remove the restrictions that now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of Europe and secure new markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American shipping, the product of the American labor employed in American shipyards, sailing under the stars and stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans, may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency now in circulation must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obliga-

tions of the United States and all our money, whether paper or coin, at the present standard—the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

JUSTICE TO VETERANS.

The veterans of the Union armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present Administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the Western hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States, and, by the purchase of the Danish Islands, we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American

people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers, and American property destroyed. There, and everywhere, American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered, and shall not interfere, with the existing possessions of any European Power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European Powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all of the English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba,

and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

The peace and security of the republic, and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth, demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defenses.

For the protection of the equality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

The Civil Service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the

uncivilized and barbarous practices well known as lynching or killing of human beings, suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

We favor the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employed engaged in intestate commerce.

We believe in an immediate return to the free homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of the satisfactory free homestead measure which has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay

for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide, and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

Senator Teller's retirement was ceremonious and he had a good deal to say. The reply of Foraker was to move to lay Teller's substitute on the table. The substitute was:

"We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Resolutions, being unable to agree with that part of the majority report which treats of the subjects of coinage and finance, respectfully submit the following paragraph as a substitute therefor:

"'The Republican party favors the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free, unrestricted, and independent coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to 1 of gold.'"

This was laid on the table by the following vote:

States.	Ayes.	Nays.	States.	Ayes.	Nays.
Alabama,	15	7	New Jersey,	20	—
Arkansas,	15	1	New York,	72	—
California,	3	15	North Carolina,	7½	14½
Colorado,	—	8	North Dakota,	6	—
Connecticut,	12	—	Ohio,	46	—
Delaware,	6	—	Oregon,	8	—
Florida,	6	2	Pennsylvania,	64	—
Georgia,	23	3	Rhode Island,	8	—
Idaho,	—	6	South Carolina,	18	—
Illinois,	47	1	South Dakota,	6	2
Indiana,	30	—	Tennessee,	23	1
Iowa,	26	—	Texas,	30	—
Kansas,	16	4	Utah,	—	6
Kentucky,	26	—	Vermont,	8	—
Louisiana,	16	—	Virginia,	19	5
Maine,	12	—	Washington,	8	—
Maryland,	16	—	West Virginia,	12	—
Massachusetts,	30	—	Wisconsin,	24	—
Michigan,	27	1	Wyoming,	—	6
Minnesota,	18	—	Arizona,	—	6
Mississippi,	18	—	New Mexico,	3	3
Missouri,	33	1	Oklahoma,	5	1
Montana,	—	6	Indian Territory,	6	—
Nebraska,	16	—	Dist. of Columbia,	2	—
Nevada,	—	6	Alaska,	4	—
New Hampshire,	8	—			
Totals,				818½	105½

The financial plank was adopted by the same vote.

This was followed by a solemn protest and the secession of the extremists.

The silver delegates who retired from the hall were Congressman Hartman, of Montana; Senator Cannon, Congressman Allen and Delegate Thomas Kearns, of Utah; Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota; Delegates Cleveland and Strother, of Nevada. From Idaho the entire delegation of six,

headed by Senator Dubois; from Colorado, the entire delegation of eight, including Senator Teller. They carried with them their standard marking their position in the hall. The total number of those who "bolted" was twenty-one, including four Senators and two Representatives.

These gentlemen represented those who have been holding up Congress for some time to force their silver scheme as a rider. Senator Mantle, of Montana, remained, and said:

"We reserve the right to the Republicans of the State of Montana to accept or reject at such time and in such manner as they may determine the platform and the candidates put before them by this Convention."

Senator Brown, of Utah, said:

"*Mr. Chairman:* The delegation from Utah does not bolt. [Cheers.] We do not believe that the Republican party is the oppressor of the people, but the guardian of liberty and the protector of honest government. [Applause.] Three of our delegation have gone, and I am here to express our sorrow at their departure. We have asked them to remain; and we shall never cease to regret their departure. [Cries of 'Good!' and cheers.] We have three delegates left and three alternates—Messrs. Rogers, Green, and Smith—all true to the old party, and who are as loyal to its principles and as fixed as the everlasting mountains where we live. [Cheers.]

"In saying this, we still remain true to the prin-

ciples of free gold and free silver at the old rates. We do not believe this question can be settled by votes in a Convention. The test of time can only settle it, and we believe when it shall be settled in this way it will be for the reinstatement of silver as the constitutional money. But I promised not to speak on this subject. There is one greater issue before the American people, one to which the Republican party was pledged years and years ago. You have promised to the people of the United States an American tariff [cheers], an American issue. [Renewed cheers.] You must send protection to every shipowner and every shipmaker. You must send protection to the farmer, to the manufacturer, and I say to you that Utah, or at least a part of it, will endeavor to help you in that cause." [Cheers.]

Senator Brown finished by asking that the three alternates he had named be allowed to sit in the Convention in place of the delegates who had left.

The Chairman said unless objection was made this would be ordered.

No dissenting voice being raised, the three alternates—Lyndsey Rogers, Web Green, and A. Smith —were seated as delegates from Utah.

The Chair next recognized Mr. Burleigh, of Washington.

Mr. Burleigh, speaking from the platform said: "The young State of Washington yields her place for patriotic devotion and loyal allegiance to this Government and the tenets of this party to none.

We did not come here for inspiration on the silver question. We brought our inspiration with us. We believe in the single gold standard because we believe that the money which pays the banker in Wall Street his interest is none too good to pay the laborer in Montana." Then he added that with Protection, Reciprocity, and the chosen standard-bearer, William McKinley, Washington would give a good account of herself in November. This was the first time McKinley's name had been publicly mentioned in the proceedings, and it was received with cheers.

The States were then called for the choice of members of the National Committee, and the following names were sent up:

Alabama—William Youngblood.
Arkansas—Powell Clayton.
California—J. D. Spreckels.
Colorado—Not elected.
Connecticut—Samuel Fessenden.
Delaware—James H. Wilson.
Florida—John G. Long.
Georgia—J. W. Lyons.
Idaho—Not elected.
Illinois—T. N. Jamieson.
Indiana—W. T. Durbin.
Iowa—W. B. Cummings.
Kansas—Cyrus Leland, Jr.
Kentucky—J. W. Yerkes.
Louisiana—A. T. Wilberly.
Maine—Joseph H. Manley.
Maryland—George L. Wellington.
Massachusetts—George H. Lyman.
Michigan—George L. Maltz.
Minnesota—L. F. Hubbard.
Mississippi—J. Hill.
Missouri—R. C. Kerens.
Montana—Charles R. Leonard.
Nebraska—John M. Thurston.
Nevada—Not elected.
New Hampshire—Person F. Cheney.
New Jersey—Not elected.
New York—F. S. Gibbs.
North Carolina—James E. Boyd.
North Dakota—W. H. Robinson.
Ohio—Charles L. Kurtz.
Oregon—George A. Steele.
Pennsylvania—M. S. Quay.

Rhode Island—General C. R. Brayton.
South Carolina—E. A. Webster.
South Dakota—A. B. Kittredge.
Tennessee—Elects after the convention adjourns.
Texas—John Grant.
Utah—O. J. Saulsbury.
Vermont—George T. Childs.
Virginia—George E. Bowden.
Washington—P. C. Sullivan.
West Virginia—B. N. Scott.
Wisconsin—Henry C. Payne.
Wyoming—Willis Vandeventer.
District of Columbia—Deadlock.
Arizona—Postponed until Territorial Convention.
New Mexico—Elects after the convention.
Oklahoma—Henry E. Asp.
Indian Territory—Leo E. Bennett.
Alaska—Deadlock.

The first name presented for nomination was that of Senator Allison by B. M. Baldwin, of Council Bluffs. He said:

"*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* There is one, but only one, of those whose names will be presented to this Convention who can claim that there has been placed for him in history's golden urn an estimate of his character and worth made by him on whom Nature stamped her royal seal; God exhibited as His greatest design of American manhood, genius, statesmanship, and patriotism; who now in Heaven wears a crown of deathless praise, and whose great soul is a portion of eternity itself, James G. Blaine. Blaine writing to Garfield, said: 'Then comes Allison. He is true, kind, reasonable, fair, honest, and good. He is methodical, industrious, and intelligent, and would be a splendid man to sail along with smoothly and successfully.'

"Complying with the request of the Iowa delegation, I rise to propose to this Convention the nom-

ination of him to whom this heritage was bequeathed, William B. Allison, and to ask you to make it on the Old and New Testament of Republicanism.

"It takes a big man to represent the State of Iowa in the Congress of the United States for thirty-five years, but Senator Allison is that man. With the most perfect knowledge of the details of all our political laws and their histories, with that statesmanlike judgment which distinguishes the essential from the accidental and the immutable from the transitory, 'with every look a cordial smile, every gesture a caress,' yet with the spirit of such firm mold and purpose that no bribe or feast or palace could awe or swerve, he has, for thirty-five years, upon the floor of the House and Senate been fighting for the interests of the people, carrying onward and upward the Nation's legislative work; turning cranks out of place, unsphering the culminating stars of Democracy, unmasking hidden purposes of corrupt measures, until now he holds the place of ungrudged supremacy in the legislative halls of that most splendid of Capitols."

This speech was a very clever presentation of public policy.

Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, presented the name of the Hon. T. B. Reed, saying:

"Four years ago we met as we meet now, represenatives of the great Republican party. Prosperity was in the land. Capital was confident and labor

employed. There was the good day's wage for the good day's work, and the spirit of American enterprise was stirring and bold. The treasury was full, the public revenues ample for the public need. We were at peace with all the world, and had placed a prudent hand on the key of the Pacific. Four short years have come and gone. Look about you now. The treasury is empty. Our credit is impaired. Our revenues are deficient. We meet the public needs, not with income, but by borrowing at high rates and pledging the future for the wants of the present. Business is paralyzed. Confidence has gone. Enterprise has folded its eagle wings and mopes and blinks in the market-place. Our mills are idle and our railroads crippled. Capital hides itself and labor idly walks the street. There is neither a good day's wage nor a good day's work. We have met with slights abroad and have curious differences with other nations. The key of the Pacific has slipped from nerveless hands. Foreign troops have been landed in this hemisphere. Our own boundaries have been threatened in Alaska. The trouble was the Democratic party had been in power."

The Senator continued:

"The Democrats deceived the people by promising them the millennium, and the miserable results of those lying promises are all about us to-day. We have no promises to make. We pledge ourselves only to that which we believe we can perform. We will do our best. That is all. And as in 1860 we

saved the Union and abolished slavery, so now in 1896 we will deal with this Democratic legacy of blunders, bankruptcy, and misfortune.

"We are gathered here to choose the next President of the United States. That we will win in the election no man doubts. But let us not deceive ourselves with the pleasant fancy that the campaign is to be an easy one. It will be a hard battle; it cannot be otherwise when so much depends on the result. Against the Republican party, representing fixed American policies, strength, progress, and order, will be arrayed not only that organized feature, the Democratic party, but all the wandering forces of political chaos and social disorder.

"We want a President who, on the 5th day of next March, will summon Congress in extra session, and, refusing to make appointments or to deal with patronage, will say that all else must wait until Congress sends to him a tariff which shall put money in the Treasury and wages in the pockets of the American workingmen. We want a President who will protect at all hazards the gold reserves of the Treasury; who will see to it that no obligation of the Government is presented which is not paid in whatever coin the creditor chooses to demand, and who will never forget that the nation which pays with honor borrows with ease.

"We want a man who will guard the safety and dignity of the Nation at home and abroad, and who will always and constantly be firm in dealing

with foreign nations, instead of suddenly varying a long course of weakness and indifference with a convulsive spasm of vigor and patriotism. Above all, we want a man who will lead his party and act with it, and who will not, by senseless quarrels between the White House and the Capitol, reduce legislation and execution alike to imbecility and failure."

The Senator said of Mr. Reed:

"I have seen him with a maddened opposition storming about him carry through that great reform which has made the House of Representatives the strong and efficient body it is to-day. I have seen him during the last winter guide a great majority so that they have met every demand put upon them, and made no errors which could burden the Republican party in the campaign before us.

"Before the people and in the House he has ever been the bold and brilliant champion of the great Republican policies which, adopted, have made us prosperous, and abandoned, have left ruin at our doors. He is a thorough American, by birth, by descent, by breeding; one who loves his country, and has served it in youth and manhood, in war and in peace. His great ability, his originality of thought, his power in debate, his strong will are known of all men, and are part of the history of the last twenty years. His public career is as spotless as his private character is pure and unblemished. He is a trained statesman, fit for the heaviest tasks the country can

impose upon him. He commands the confidence of his party and his country. He is a leader of men. We know it because we have seen him lead. To those who have followed him he never said 'Go,' but always 'Come.' He is entirely fearless. We know it, for we have seen his courage tested on a hundred fields. He has been called to great places, and to great trials, and he has never failed nor flinched."

Mr. Depew's nomination of Governor Morton was a fine stroke of literary work. Mr. Depew said:

"No party, no matter however glorious its achievements or how brilliant its successes, can rely upon the past. Its former triumphs are only its certificates of character, which must be met by continuing effort as beneficent and wise as anything of which it boasts. The party which is to permanently govern a country and is secure in its past must not only be equal to the present, but must forecast and provide for the future.

"We meet to take up the broken cord of National development and happiness and link it once more to the car of progress. Our industries stagnant, our manufactures paralyzed, our agriculture disheartened, our artisans unemployed, our finances disordered, our Treasury bankrupt, our credit impaired, our position among the nations of the world questioned, all look to this Convention and call upon its wisdom for hope and rescue.

"The whole country, North, South, East, and

West, without any division in our lines, or out of them, stands, after what has happened in the last three years, for the protection of American industries, for the principle of reciprocity, and for America for Americans. But a compact neighborhood of great commonwealths, in which are concentrated the majority of the population, of the manufactures, and of the industrial energies of the United States, has found that business and credit exist only with the stability of sound money.

"It has become the fashion of late to decry business as unpatriotic. We hear much of the 'sordid considerations of capital,' 'employment,' 'industrial energies,' and 'prosperous labor.' The United States, differing from the mediæval conditions which govern older countries, differing from the militarism which is the curse of European nations, differing from thrones which rest upon the sword, is pre-eminently and patriotically a commercial and a business nation. Thus commerce and business are synonymous with patriotism. When the farmer is afield sowing and reaping the crops which find a market that remunerates him for his toil; when the laborer and the artisan find work seeking them and not themselves despairing of work; when the wage of the toiler promises comfort for his family and hope for his children; when the rail is burdened with the product of the soil and of the factory; when the spindles are humming and the furnaces are in blast; when the mine is putting out its largest product

and the national and individual wealth are constantly increasing; when the homes owned, unmortgaged, by the people are more numerous day by day and month by month; when the schools are most crowded, the fairs most frequent, and happy conditions most universal in the nation, then are the promises fulfilled which make these United States of America the home of the oppressed and the land of the free.

"It is to meet these conditions, and to meet them with a candidate who represents them and about whom there can be no question, that New York presents to you for the Presidency, under the unanimous instructions of two successive Republican State Conventions, the name of her Governor, Levi P. Morton."

Mr. Depew said of Mr. Morton:

"He is the best type of the American business man —that type which is the ideal of school, the academy, and the college; that type which the mother presents to her boy in the Western cabin, and in the Eastern tenement, as she is marking out for him a career by which he shall rise from his poor surroundings to grasp the prizes which come through American liberty and American opportunity.

"You see the picture. The New England clergyman on his meagre salary, the large family of boys and girls about him, the sons going out with their common school education, the boy becoming the clerk in a store, then granted an interest in the business, then becoming its controlling spirit, then claiming the attention of the great house in the city and

called to a partnership, then himself the master of great affairs. Overwhelmed by the incalculable conditions of Civil War, but with undaunted energy and foresight, he grasped again the elements of escape out of bankruptcy and of success, and with the return of prosperity he paid to the creditors who had compromised his indebtedness every dollar, principal and interest, of what he owed them. The best type of a successful business man, he turns to politics, to be a useful member of Congress; to diplomacy, to be a successful minister abroad; to the executive and administrative branches of government, to be the most popular Vice-President and the presiding officer of that most august body, the Senate of the United States.

"Our present deplorable industrial and financial conditions are largely due to the fact that while we have a President and a Cabinet of acknowledged ability, none of them have had business training or experience. They are persuasive reasoners upon industrial questions, but have never practically solved industrial problems. They are the book farmers who raise wheat at the cost of orchids and sell it at the price of wheat. With Levi P. Morton there would be no deficiency to be met by the issue of bonds, there would be no blight on our credit which would call for the services of a syndicate, there would be no trifling with the delicate intricacies of finance and commerce which would paralyze the operations of trade and manufacture.

"Whoever may be nominated by this Convention will receive the cordial support, the enthusiastic advocates of the Republicans of New York, but in the shifting conditions of our Commonwealth, Governor Morton can secure more than the party strength, and without question in the coming canvass, no matter what issues may arise between now and November, place the Empire State solidly in the Republican column."

In placing McKinley in nomination, ex-Governor and Senator-elect Foraker said:

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* It would be exceedingly difficult, if not entirely impossible, to exaggerate the disagreeable situation of the last four years. The grand aggregate of the multitudinous bad results of a Democratic National Administration may be summed up as one stupendous disaster. It has been a disaster, however, not without, at least, this one redeeming feature—that it has been fair; nobody has escaped. [Loud laughter.]

"It has fallen equally and alike on all sections of the country and on all classes of our people, the just and the unjust, the Republican and the Democrat, the rich and the poor, the high and the low have suffered in common. Poverty and distress have overtaken business; shrunken values have dissipated fortunes; deficiencies of revenue have impoverished the government, while bond issues and bond syndicates have discredited and scandalized the country.

"Over against that fearful penalty is, however, to

be set down one great, blessed compensatory result —it has destroyed the Democratic party. [Cheers and laughter.] The proud columns which swept the country in triumph in 1892 are broken and hopeless in 1896. Their boasted principles when put to the test have proved to be delusive fallacies, and their great leaders have degenerated into warring chieftains of petty and irreconcilable factions. Their approaching National Convention is but an approaching National nightmare. No man pretends to be able to predict any good result to come from it. And no man is seeking the nomination of that Convention except only the limited few who have advertised their unfitness for any kind of a public trust by proclaiming their willingness to stand on any sort of a platform that may be adopted. [Laughter.]

"The truth is, the party which would stand up under the odium of human slavery, opposed to the war for the preservation of the Union, to emancipation, to enfranchisement, to reconstruction and to specie resumption is at last to be overmatched and undone by itself. It is writhing in the throes and agonies of final dissolution. No human agency can prevent its absolute overthrow at the next election, except only this Convention. If we make no mistake here, the Democratic party will go out of power on the 4th day of March, 1897 [applause], to remain out of power until God, in His infinite wisdom, mercy, and goodness shall see fit once more to chastise His people. [Loud laughter and applause.]

"So far we have not made any mistake. We have adopted a platform which, notwithstanding the scene witnessed in this hall this morning, meets the demands and expectations of the American people.

"It remains for us now, as the last crowning act of our work, to meet again that same expectation in the nomination of our candidates. What is that expectation? What is it that the people want? They want as their candidate something more than 'a good business man' (an allusion to Mr. Depew's characterization of Governor Morton). They want something more than a popular leader. They want something more than a wise and patriotic statesman. They want a man who embodies in himself not only all these essential qualifications, but those, in addition, which, in the highest possible degree, typify in name, in character, in record, in ambition, in purpose, the exact opposite of all that is signified and represented by that free-trade, deficit-making, bond-issuing, labor-assassinating, Democratic administration. [Cheers.]

[Twenty-five minutes were occupied by the audience at this point cheering for McKinley.]

Resuming, the orator eulogized the champions of Republicanism (Mr. Blaine with the greater emphasis), with great fervor and closed:

"But, greatest of all, measured by present requirements, is the leader of the House of Representatives, the author of the McKinley bill, which gave to labor its richest awards. No other name so completely

meets the requirements of the occasion, and no other name so absolutely commands all hearts. The shafts of envy and malice and slander and libel and detraction that have been aimed at him lie broken and harmless at his feet. The quiver is empty, and he is untouched. That is because the people know him, trust him, believe in him, love him, and will not permit any human power to disparage him unjustly in their estimation.

"They know that he is an American of Americanists. They know that he is just and able and brave, and they want him for President of the United States. [Applause.] They have already shown it—not in this or that State, nor in this or that section, but in all the States and in all the sections from ocean to ocean, and from the gulf to the lakes. They expect of you to give them a chance to vote for him. It is our duty to do it. If we discharge that duty we will give joy to their hearts, enthusiasm to their souls, and triumphant victory to our cause. [Applause.] And he, in turn, will give us an administration under which the country will enter on a new era of prosperity at home and of glory and honor abroad, by all these tokens of the present and all these promises of the future. In the name of the forty-six delegates of Ohio, I submit his claim to your consideration." [More applause.]

Senator Thurston, of Nebraska, was recognized by Temporary Chairman Hepburn, and seconded the nomination of McKinley. He spoke as follows:

"*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* This is the year of the people. They are conscious of their power; they are tenacious of their rights; they are supreme in this Convention; they are certain of victory now in November.

"They have framed the issue of this campaign. What is it? Money? Yes, money! Not that which is coined for the mine-owner at the Mint or clipped by the coupon-cutter from the bond, but that which is created by American muscle on the farms and in the factories. The Western mountains clamor for silver and the Eastern seashore cries for gold, but the millions ask for work—an opportunity to labor and to live.

STANDS FOR ALL THE STATES.

"The prosperity of a nation is in the employment of its people, and, thank God! the electors of the United States know this great economic truth at last. The Republican party does not stand for Nevada or New York alone, but for both; not for one State, but for all. Its platform is as broad as the land, as national as the flag. Republicans are definitely committed to sound currency; but they believe that in a government of the people the welfare of men is paramount to the interests of money. Their shibboleth for this campaign is 'Protection.' From the vantage-ground of their own selection, they cannot be stampeded by Wall Street panics or free-coinage cyclones. Reports of international complications

and rumors of war pass them lightly by; they know that the real enemy of American prosperity is free trade and the best coast defense is a protective tariff. They do not fear the warlike preparations of Europe, but they do fear its cheap manufactures. Their real danger is not from foreign navies carrying guns, but from foreign fleets bringing goods.

"This is the year of the people. They have risen in their might. From ocean to ocean, from lake to gulf, they are united as never before. We know their wishes and are here to register their will. They must not be cheated of their choice. They know the man best qualified and equipped to fight their battles and to win their victories. His name is in every heart, on every tongue. His nomination is certain, his election sure. His candidacy will sweep the country as a prairie is swept by fire.

THE YEAR OF THE PEOPLE.

"This is the year of the people. In their name, by their authority, I second the nomination of their great champion, William McKinley. Not as a favorite son of any State, but as the favorite son of the United States. Not as a concession to Ohio, but as an added honor to the Nation.

"When this country called to arms, he took into his boyish hands a musket and followed the flag, bravely baring his breast to the hell of battle, that it might float serenely in the Union sky. For a quarter of a century he has stood in the fierce light

of public place and his robes of office are spotless as the driven snow. He has cherished no higher ambition than the honor of his country and the welfare of the plain people. Steadfastly, courageously, victoriously, and with tongue of fire he has pleaded their cause. His labor, ability, and perseverance have enriched the statutes of the United States with legislation in their behalf. All his contributions to the masterpieces of American oratory are the outpourings of a pure heart and a patriotic purpose. His God-given powers are consecrated to the advancement and renown of his own country and to the uplifting and ennobling of his own countrymen. He has the courage of his convictions and cannot be tempted to woo success or avert defeat by any sacrifice of principle or concession to popular clamor.

STEADFAST IN THE HOUR OF GLOOM.

"In the hour of Republican disaster, when other leaders were excusing and apologizing, he stood steadfastly by that grand legislative act which bore his name, confidently submitting his case to the judgment of events, and calmly waiting for that triumphal vindication whose laurel this Convention is impatient to place upon his brow.

"Strengthened and seasoned by long Congressional service, broadened by the exercise of important executive powers, master of the great economic questions of the age, eloquent, single-hearted, and sincere,

he stands to-day the most conspicuous and commanding character of this generation, divinely ordained, as I believe, for a great mission, to lead this people out from the shadow of adversity into the sunshine of a new and enduring prosperity.

"Omnipotence never sleeps. Every great crisis brings a leader. For every supreme hour Providence finds a man. The necessities of '96 are almost as great as those of '61. True, the enemies of the Nation have ceased to threaten with the sword, and the Constitution of the United States no longer tolerates that shackles shall fret the limbs of men, but free trade and free coinage hold no less menace to American progress than did the armed hosts of treason and rebellion. If the voice of the people is indeed the voice of God, then William McKinley is the complement of Abraham Lincoln. Yea, and he will issue a new Emancipation Proclamation to the enslaved sons of toil, and they shall be lifted up into the full enjoyment of those privileges, advantages, and opportunities that belong of right to the American people.

THE FLAG WILL NEVER BE HAULED DOWN.

"Under his Administration he shall command the respect of the nations of the earth; the American flag will never be hauled down; the rights of American citizenship will be enforced; abundant revenues provided; foreign merchandise will remain abroad; our gold be kept at home; American institutions

will be cherished and upheld; all governmental obligations scrupulously kept, and on the escutcheon of the Republic will be indelibly engraved the American policy—'Protection, Reciprocity, and Sound Money.'

"My countrymen, let not your hearts be troubled; the darkest hour is just before the day; the morning of the twentieth century will dawn bright and clear. Lift up your hopeful faces and receive the light; the Republican party is coming back to power, and William McKinley will be President of the United States.

"In an inland manufacturing city, on election night, November, 1894, after the wires had confirmed the news of a sweeping Republican victory, two workingmen started to climb to the top of a great smokeless chimney.

"That chimney had been built by the invitation and upon the promise of Republican protective legislation. In the factory over which it towered was employment for twice a thousand men. Its mighty roar had heralded the prosperity of a whole community. It had stood a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night for a busy, industrious, happy people. Now bleak, blackened, voiceless, and dismantled, like a grim spectre of evil, it frowned down upon the hapless city, where poverty, idleness, stagnation, and want attested the complete disaster of the free-trade experiment.

UNFURLED THE EMBLEM OF HOPE.

"Up and up and up they climbed, watched by the breathless multitude below. Up and up and up, until at last they stood upon its summit; and there in the glare of the electric lights, cheered by the gathered thousands, they unfurled and nailed an American flag. Down in the streets strong men wept—the happy tears of hope—and mothers, lifting up their babes, invoked the blessing of the flag; and then impassioned lips burst forth in song—the hallelujah of exulting hosts, the mighty pæan of a people's joy. That song, the enthusiastic millions yet sing.

"Hurrah! Hurrah! we bring the jubilee;
Hurrah! Hurrah! the flag that makes us free;
So we sing the chorus from the mountains to the sea;
Hurrah for McKinley and Protection.

"Over the city that free flag waved, caressed by the passing breeze, kissed by the silent stars. And there the first glad sunshine of the morning fell upon it, luminous and lustrous with the tidings of Republican success.

"On behalf of those stalwart workmen, and all the vast army of American toilers; that their employment may be certain; their wages just, their dollars the best in the civilized world; on behalf of that dismantled chimney, and the deserted factory at its base; that the furnaces may once more flame, the

mighty wheels revolve, the whistles scream, the anvils ring, the spindles hum; on behalf of the thousand cottages round about, and all the humble homes of this broad land; that comfort and contentment may again abide, the firesides glow, the women sing, the children laugh; yes, and on behalf of that American flag and all it stands for and represents; for the honor of every stripe, for the glory of every star; that its power may fill the earth and its splendor span the sky, I ask the nomination of that loyal American, that Christian gentleman, soldier, statesman, patriot, William McKinley."

Governor Hastings, of Pennsylvania, nominated Senator Quay. The Governor said:

"Pennsylvania comes to this Convention, giving you the cordial assurance that, whoever may be our National standard-bearer, he will receive of all the States in the Union the largest majority from the Keystone State. There have been no faltering footsteps in Pennsylvania when the tenets of Republicanism have been at stake.

"Pennsylvania comes to this Convention and, with great unanimity, asks you to name a standard-bearer who will represent not only the principles and conditions, but the brightest hopes and aspirations of the Republican party; a man who has been a loyal supporter of its every great movement; a potent factor in its councils from the day of its birth and baptism on Pennsylvania soil to the present time; a man whose every vote and utterance has been upon

the side of sound money, fair protection, and a strong and patriotic Americanism.

"Called to lead a forlorn hope in the great campaign of 1888, he wrought a task equal to the six labors of Hercules. He organized the patriotism and Republicanism of the country for victory. He throttled the Tammany tiger in his den, and, forcing an honest vote and an honest count in the stronghold of the most powerful and corrupt political organization in the land, rescued the country from the heresies of Democracy. Having thus made himself too powerful and too dangerous to the enemy, the order went forth to assassinate him, but the poisoned arrows of slander and vituperation, thrown in bitter and relentless hatred, fell broken at his feet. He turned to the people among whom he lived and whose servant he was, and his vindication at their hands was a unanimous re-election to the Senate of the United States.

"There, representing imperial Pennsylvania and her interests, he stood like a rock, resisting the combined power of a free-trade President and party, until the deformity known as the Wilson bill was altered and amended so as to save at least some of the business interests of his State and country from entire and utter ruin. We welcome the issue—American protection, American credit, and an American policy. Let the people in the campaign which this Convention inaugurates determine whether they are still willing to live through another free-

trade panic. Let the wage-earner and the wage-payer contemplate the bitter experiences which brought hunger to the home of one and financial ruin to the other. Let the American farmer compare farm-product prices with free-trade promises. Let him who has saved a surplus and him who works for a livelihood determine, each for himself, if he craves to be paid in American dollars disgraced and depreciated to half their alleged value. Let him who fought for his country's flag; let the widow, the orphan, and the loving parent who gave up that which was as precious as life, behold that flag, and all it stands for, pawned to a foreign and domestic joint syndicate to raise temporary loans for the purpose of postponing the final financial disaster, and answer whether they want the shame and humiliation repeated. Let the sovereign voice be heard in the coming election declaring that the only government founded on the rock of freedom, blessed with every gift of nature and crowned with unmeasured possibilities, shall not be dethroned, degraded, pauperized by a party and a policy at war with the very genius of our National existence.

"Nominate him who I now name, and this country will have a President whose mental endowments, broad-minded statesmanship, ripe experience, marvelous sagacity, unassuming modesty, knightly courage, and true Americanism are unexcelled. Nominate him and he will elect himself. I name

to you the soldier and the statesman, Pennsvlvania's choice—Matthew Stanley Quay."

THE VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

STATES.	McKINLEY.	MORTON.	QUAY.	REED.	ALLISON.	CAMERON.
Alabama,	19	1	—	2	—	—
Arkansas,	16	—	—	—	—	—
California,	18	—	—	—	—	—
Colorado,	—	—	—	—	—	—
Connecticut,	7	—	—	5	—	—
Delaware,	6	—	—	—	—	—
Florida,	6	2	—	—	—	—
Georgia,	22	—	2	2	—	—
Idaho,	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois,	46	—	—	2	—	—
Indiana,	30	—	—	—	—	—
Iowa,	—	—	—	—	26	—
Kansas,	20	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky,	26	—	—	—	—	—
Louisiana,	11	—	½	4	½	—
Maine,	—	—	—	12	—	—
Maryland,	15	—	—	1	—	—
Massachusetts,	1	—	—	29	—	—
Michigan,	28	—	—	—	—	—
Minnesota,	18	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi,	17	—	1	—	—	—
Missouri,	34	—	—	—	—	—
*Montana,	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nebraska,	16	—	—	—	—	—
Nevada,	3	—	—	—	—	—
New Hampshire,	—	—	—	8	—	—
New Jersey,	19	—	—	1	—	—
New York,	17	55	—	—	—	—
North Carolina,	19½	—	—	2½	—	—
North Dakota,	6	—	—	—	—	—
Ohio,	46	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon,	8	—	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania,	6	—	58	—	—	—
Rhode Island,	—	—	—	8	—	—
South Carolina,	18	—	—	—	—	—

STATES.	McKINLEY.	MORTON.	QUAY.	REED.	ALLISON.	CAMERON.
South Dakota,	8	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee,	24	—	—	—	—	—
Texas,	21	—	—	5	3	—
Utah,	3	—	—	—	3	—
Vermont,	8	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia,	23	—	—	1	—	—
Washington,	8	—	—	—	—	—
Arizona,	6	—	—	—	—	—
West Virginia,	12	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin,	24	—	—	—	—	—
Wyoming,	6	—	—	—	—	—
New Mexico,	5	—	—	—	1	—
Oklahoma,	4	—	—	1	1	—
Indian Territory,	6	—	—	—	—	—
District of Columbia,	—	—	—	1	1	—
Alaska,	4	—	—	—	—	—
Totals,	661½	58	61½	84½	35½	1

*Blank—4.
Necessary for choice, 454. Total number delegates present, 906.

THE COMMITTEE OF NOTIFICATION.

ALABAMA—C. D. Alexander.
ARKANSAS—H. M. Cooper.
CALIFORNIA—Frank Miller.
COLORADO—Bolted.
CONNECTICUT—George Sykes.
DELAWARE—Henry C. Morse, H. A. Dupont.
FLORIDA—Dennis Eagan.
GEORGIA—M. B. Morton, M. J. Doyle.
IDAHO—Bolted.
ILLINOIS—C. H. Deere, E. L. Wood.
INDIANA—Hiram Brownlee, Jesse Weeks.
IOWA—Calvin Manning, C. M. Junkin.
KANSAS—Nathaniel Barnes.
KENTUCKY—J. P. McCartney.
LOUISIANA—Walter S. Cohen.
MAINE—C. E. Townsend.
MARYLAND—Wm. F. Airey.
MASSACHUSETTS—M. V. B. Jefferson, W. J. Hale.
MICHIGAN—T. J. O'Brien.
MINNESOTA—Monroe Nichols, A. E. Davidson.
MISSISSIPPI—W. D. Frazee.
MISSOURI—T. B. Haughawout, B. F. Leonard.
MONTANA—Unorganized.
NEBRASKA—John T. Beessler.
NEVADA—J. H. Bressler.
NEW HAMPSHIRE—William D. Sawyer.
NEW JERSEY—F. W. Roebling.

NEW YORK — Frank Hiscock, Lispenard Stewart.
NORTH CAROLINA—L. M. Bernard, John H. Hanna.
NORTH DAKOTA—Deferred.
OHIO—M. A. Hanna.
OREGON—Charles Hilton.
PENNSYLVANIA — Theodore I. Flood, H. S. Denny.
RHODE ISLAND—John C. Sanborn.
SOUTH CAROLINA—Edmund H. Deas, C. J. Pride.
SOUTH DAKOTA—W. Smede.
TENNESSEE—Ernest Coldwell.
TEXAS—J. W. Butler.
UTAH—Lindsay Rodgers.
VERMONT—James W. Brock.
VIRGINIA—J. S. Browning, R. T. Hubbard.
WASHINGTON—Henry L. Wilson.
WEST VIRGINIA—U. N. Lynch, T. E. Houston.
WISCONSIN—M. C. Ring, J. E. Roehr.
WYOMING—H. C. Nickerson.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Deadlock.
ARIZONA—John W. Dorrington.
NEW MEXICO—Pedro Pera.
OKLAHOMA—John A. Buckler.
INDIAN TERRITORY—Joseph R. Faltz.
ALASKA—C. S. Johnston.

Where one name occurs in the above list of the members of the Notification Committee, the representative acts on both committees. When two names occur the first will visit the Presidential nominee and the second the nominee for Vice-President.

CHAPTER XIX.

McKINLEY ON THE DAY OF HIS NOMINATION.

His good nerve and thoughtful courtesies—He was quiet through the storm and gave the good news with kisses to his wife and mother.

JUNE 18th, 1896, was an ideal June day at Canton; the air full of golden sunshine. The expectation and strain of excitement of the people, who have a passionate admiration and affection for Major McKinley, were unmistakable, but they waited with the supreme dignity of confidence.

Major McKinley was awakened rather early from a sound sleep by the clicking of the telegraph instruments in his office making an unusual clamor that penetrated the walls, but his eye glowed with energy, there was a fiery spark under his dark, shaggy brows, and the fine, strong lines of his mouth were accentuated. The day was not far advanced when a group of newspaper men gathered on the shady porch of the Major's residence, which seems to be in the midst of a vast park, adorned with pleasant homes, standing in glossy lawns and amidst lovely trees.

There was keen competition between the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies and the Long Distance Telephone, transmitting the Convention news to the Major, and he was quietly seated in a rocking-chair, slowly swinging and chatting, and as the telegrams were handed him, he coolly scanned them, repeated their substance—often the exact words—in unconcerned tones explained them upon inquiry, and, after elucidation, passed them on to others. It was noticeable that he frequently received confidential messages—and, of course, did not share them with his visitors.

The intervals were filled with conversation, in which the Major related anecdotes of the National Conventions, and of Mr. Blaine and the great Republicans of other days, and the newspaper veterans drew from him old recollections.

He followed intently the story of the silver secession, recognizing the parliamentary situation point by point, and concisely explaining the entanglement.

His face was very serious and stern when listening to the account of the retirement of some of the silver States, and broke into a smile, winning as the glance of a boy, as the announcement was made of the alternates taking the places of the fugitives; and there was an expression of pleasure from him when the Montana man stood up and stuck to the Convention, and spoke for his State in terse and ringing terms.

There were many callers, and the Major was attentive to all, remembering the names of acquaintances,

asking apt and incisive questions, and commending every sign of patience and the presence of a spirit of conciliation in the Convention. He forgot nothing that was courteous and appropriate, and was as hearty and thoughtful as if holding a reception of inconsiderable import.

The enthusiasts of the early business hours of the eventful day were flitting about in the forms of delightful young ladies, wearing breezy and bright spring suits, and they had joyous faces and walked as if to dancing music. They were the people who had no doubts of the fortunes of the day.

As the Major rocked on his porch, enjoying the freshness of the air that was balmy, though touched with fire, the carriages that clattered down the broad street filled with people, all contained persons who recognized the hero of the day, and he returned their salutes with his accustomed urbanity and manner, at once graceful and stately.

Ladies of the family came up the walk from the street to the house, with serious faces, and as the Major rose to greet them he asked, "Is mother coming up to-day?" And the answer was, "Yes, she will be here."

An old friend near the Major appeared to be disturbed at the protracted discussions, as it seemed, of the silver and gold question, and the Major said, "Why, Judge, you seem to be impatient. If you show so much anxiety I shall have to console you." The Major did not allow any word that was tinged

with fault-finding relating to proceedings at St. Louis to pass without dissent, and remarked the Conventions were all, in many ways, alike; and he acted up constantly to the spirit of his last words to Mark Hanna as that successful man was setting forth, conquering and to conquer, for St. Louis—the Major's final word was: "Your duty now is one of conciliation." This has been the policy of McKinley throughout.

About one o'clock a carriage drove up and three ladies descended, the Major hastening forward to greet them. The venerable woman, with Roman features, was the Major's mother, and with her were his sisters.

About two o'clock there was lunch, Mrs. McKinley at the head of the table. She has, happily, improved in health, and her conversation sparkled with a sweet and pensive but pronounced personality. She has not been in favor of the Presidential business. Of course, she wants her husband to win now, but she would rather he had not been drawn into the stream of events that is bearing him on to higher destinies, for the tendency of the great office will be to absorb the Major's attention, so that she can hardly, however great his devotion, have all the time in his society she would fondly claim as her own.

During lunch the telegrams continued to come, and one from an old friend was full of congratulations by anticipation, and called attention to two texts of Scripture.

There was at once curiosity to read the passages, and Mrs. McKinley's Bible was brought. A gentleman at the table said that, of course, Mr. McKinley's Bible could be known to him only by the cover, as he was too busy a man to get acquainted with the inside. Mrs. McKinley said, in a spirited way, "He does, indeed, know the inside of his Bible—no man better, I assure you; and I speak that which I do know."

The texts that had been solemnly called to the Major's attention were the following:

Jeremiah xx, 11: "But the Lord is with me as a mighty terrible one; therefore my persecutors shall stumble, and they shall not prevail; they shall be greatly ashamed, for they shall not prosper; their everlasting confusion shall never be forgotten."

Psalms xlvii, 6: "Sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises unto our King, sing praises."

These remarkable passages were read by a lady and their fitness to the occasion commented upon by the guests. The Major was silent, but he no doubt thought his persecutors were stumbling and would not prevail and should be greatly ashamed.

It had been the prevalent presumption up to this time that there would be a recess after the platform was adopted, and that the nominating speeches spun out so as to throw the nomination into the night.

But lunch had hardly been concluded when the St. Louis news, through the long distance telephone and both wires simultaneously told that the fight was

on to a finish—that the rush of events had been hastened, and the crisis was close at hand.

McKinley's office, to which he now repaired, is adorned with portraits of Lincoln and Grant and Mrs. McKinley, a fine scene of a battery in a hot engagement, and some personal friends.

When it was announced that the nominating speeches were about to be made, the Major took his seat in a heavy arm-chair, beside his working desk, with a pad of paper in his left hand and a pencil in his right. Behind him was the telephone apparatus with an expert, connected direct with the Convention Hall. Thus there were three avenues of lightning line service between the Major's office and the Convention Hall—the Postal and Western Union, and the Long Distance Telephone.

The Major's face was grave. There were deep fires in his eyes, and his intellectual pallor, always noticeable, now gave his features the stern grace of carved marble. It is a fancy founded on fact that Major McKinley looks like Napoleon, but to-day he looked marvelously like Daniel Webster.

The warm reception of Senator Lodge by the Convention elicited an expression of sympathy from the Major, who expressed his sense of the wonderful fact that, though so far from the Convention, we were yet so near, and knew absolutely as much of the proceedings, precisely as they occurred, as if we were bodily present. I mentioned to the Major that my experience warranted the observation that I knew

more of the Convention in the seat by his side than when in a reporter's seat in Convention Hall.

Suddenly there came word almost at the same moment through the three wires, that Ohio had been called and that Foraker making his way to the platform and was received with tremendous cheering, also that the hall was flooded with sunshine, welcoming the soldier-boy son of Ohio, about to nominate another soldier-boy and son of the modern mother of Presidents. The two boy-soldiers were famous ex-Governors of their State.

The word came in a moment that Foraker was about to speak. McKinley was asked whether Foraker's speech was probably prepared, and the Major said it was not, he supposed, written, but Foraker knew very well the main things he was about to say, and was a keen, brilliant man, who knew how to make the best of the opportunities on the spot. The occasion for the inquiry as to the preparation Foraker had made was that one of the correspondents present had seen several of the nominating speeches in type and gave interesting information as to their length and character.

The young ladies in the parlor across the hall from the office had a look in which glee and distress were comically mingled, and the Major walked up to them, saying with gayety, "Are you young ladies getting anxious about this affair?"

They admitted that they were really nervous. The Major reassured them, and took his big chair,

placing his silk hat on an adjacent table, and relapsing into meditation. For a minute his pale, fixed features showed he was thinking, perhaps as much of the far-off past as of the near and rising future, and no one disturbed his day dream. This was just as Foraker was waiting for the storm of applause that greeted him to subside, so as to be allowed to go on with his speech.

It was at 3.21 o'clock, according to all the watches in the Major's room, when word came that at that moment Foraker pronounced the name of McKinley, and then came the tornado of applause, which lasted for nearly half an hour. There was a pause at our end of the wire, and the Major joined in exchange of recollections with the veterans about the contests in cheering that distinguished the Convention of 1880 at Chicago, between the supporters of Grant and those of Blaine—the most celebrated of all the contests in cheering.

The Major stepped to the telephone and listened to the roar of the Convention at St. Louis. He heard it distinctly, and, following his example, we could make out a vast tumult, struck through with shrill notes. It was like a storm at sea, with wild, fitful shrieks of wind.

As time passed, and Foraker could not still the tempest he had raised, some one said he might not be able to regain the thread of his speech, and the Major remarked it was hard on a speaker to be held up in that way—it was like stopping a race horse in

full career. But the Major said Foraker would come out of such a scene in triumph, and referred with warm admiration to his "gem of a speech" at the late Republican State Convention.

The monotony of waiting was broken by a telegram from an unknown source, giving McKinley assurance that he "would be nominated on the first ballot." This raised a laugh, but the Major only smiled, and made a suggestion as to the happening of the unexpected and the marvels of disappointment. "You may all, after all, find yourselves much mistaken at last," said the Major, gravely, as if in warning not to tempt Providence by being too sure.

Telegrams poured in, and the Major read them and directed they should be given to those outside the house—where were a dozen very old friends and twice that number of members of the press. The Major at this supreme hour directed the placing of chairs for new arrivals, and had greater self-command than anybody else. He showed his training in war and peace—and as he held up telegrams in one hand to read, there was not a flutter of the thin sheets to tell a tale of nervousness.

The message came, "Foraker is trying to resume his speech," and at this there was a smile. In another minute the telephone expert repeated Foraker's words about McKinley when he resumed, "You seem to have heard of him before."

"Ah," said the Major, "that is like him. He

knows what he is doing, and is all right. The interruption will not shake his speech."

The Ohio men with the Governor laughed immensely at the stories by the triple wires of Mark Hanna and Bushnell and Grosvenor and Foraker hugging and fanning each other and yelling like maniacs. Surely mercy and peace have kissed each other, and the year of jubilee has come!

There was a laugh over Depew's humorous illustration of the famous saying, touching the silver secessionists, of the celebrated phrase, "erring sisters, depart in peace."

There was some levity about the effort of Pennsylvania to make a noise over Quay's presentation equal to that which welcomed McKinley's name, but the face of the Major—which was growing earnest as the moment approached for the call of the roll of States for the ballot—gave no encouragement to personal reflections. When it was mentioned that Governor Hastings had spoken, some one said to the telephone expert: "Ask how long the Quay applause lasted."

"No, no!" said the Major. "Do not ask that question," and it was not asked.

There were a few minutes in which it was known that the call of the roll for balloting was the imminent order of exercises, and the air in McKinley's office grew sultry and still. There was heat and silence. McKinley picked up his pad and pencil, and proposed to keep an account of the vote. He

evidently then in fancy floated far away, and was in solitude, and hummed for a few moments the air of an old song. It was so soft and low that few heard it, and then it was no more and was like a dream within a dream—something quaint, almost mystical, an echo of music, perhaps, of the long ago. It did not occur to me at the moment what it was, but it is interesting that it was the Scotch war song that Burns ennobled and immortalized in his Bannockburn, "Scots whom Bruce has often led."

Moments passed, and then the Major whistled two or three bars two or three times, quietly, unconsciously. Suddenly the silence was abruptly broken by the announcement: Alabama, 18 for McKinley."

Then figures came thick and fast, and challenges followed of the votes of several States.

Two or three present did not know what that meant, and the Major, clearly and carefully, with perfect command of every point raised, stated the situation.

"But why," the question was asked, "do they challenge the votes of States whose votes are not contested?"

"It is necessary," the Major explained, "that gentlemen should go upon the record if they care to do so," and he added, "there are disputes between the delegates and the chairmen of delegations who announce the figures, and it can only be settled by polling the vote of the State."

The voice of the Major was not heard, a profound silence ensued, when the telephone gave forth, "the Alabama vote sustained." The Major smiled, and then, as the votes for him swelled into hundreds, he kept the count without a change of countenance—not even when the Ohio man next to him said: "The Ohio vote, now to be thrown in two or three minutes, will nominate you with a margin of a dozen, and that will please Ohio."

The recording angel, in the guise of a beautiful young lady in the hall, claimed that the Major's vote was more than it had been represented, and he quickly responded: "Be careful what you claim. We must have a fair count."

One of the veterans asked, repeatedly: "Where is Idaho?" and there were inquiries for other States.

The Major explained that some of the States had gone out, and there might be cases not covered by alternates.

"Possibly, Sam," said the Major to the telephonist, "Idaho went out," and so on to the last, the Major was clear-headed, composed, cool, and decided. Not a tremor in hand or voice, the figures his pencil traced were well formed, his voice low and even, but his pale, strong face seemed to grow in grandeur and to take on an august expression of conscious, lofty fortune, and fearful responsibility.

With firm fingers the Major wrote on his tab the fateful ballots, and the mighty vote of Ohio, 46 strong, rolled in. The Major put that down, too,

and did not look up or seem to be aware of all it exactly and conclusively meant.

The Ohio man next him threw down his pencil, saying: "There, that settles it, no more figures for me."

The Major looked up with an air of curiosity, saying: "Why are you no longer interested?"

The reply was: "Because the thing is done; let the boys cipher. The majority will be big enough. Major, I congratulate you. God bless you and give you all good gifts; and now you have just a quarter of a minute, before you are mobbed, to greet your wife and mother."

He quickly crossed the hall to the parlor, crowded with ladies, and, as his wife and mother were seated side by side, stooped low to kiss them and clasp their eager hands, the wife responding with a bright smile and a sweet exaltation in her eyes, as he told her that the vote of Ohio had given him the nomination, and the grand old mother, placing a trembling hand on her son's neck, and her eyes streaming with tears, brighter even than smiles, whispered to her illustrious boy some holy words for him alone.

At this moment the bells rang, the whistles blew, the cannon thundered, and beautiful Canton went stark, gloriously mad. The city, under a strong pressure, had kept quiet. There was a determination that there would be nothing done prematurely. Now the city blazed with bunting. There were

whirring carriages, galloping horses, wheel men and women swift as the wind! There seemed to have been an organization, including all the men, women, and children, to demonstrate instantly the moment the momentous signal was given.

As I hastened to the telegraph office there was a vast multitude precipating themselves in a gigantic, ungovernable procession upon Governor McKinley's house, and there, with wife and mother at the window with him, he acknowledged his gratitude to his neighbors first of all, and to his countrymen for their personal kindness, and his voice had the fine tone of resolution and sincerity that all who know him know, and that they hear with joyful confidence that heaven has sent a man of such manliness to serve his country in her great office, and help her upward and forward to her incomparable destiny.

THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

...THE...

Hon. Garret Augustus Hobart

A Sketch of His Public Life and His Business Affairs, His Service in the New Jersey Senate and to the City of Paterson, the Nominating Speech at St. Louis and the Welcome Home, with Telegrams of Congratulation.

CHAPTER XX.

SKETCH OF GARRET AUGUSTUS HOBART.

THE nomination of the Hon. Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, by the St. Louis National Republican Convention for Vice-President was not a surprise or accident. His name was prominent from the first, and after the certainty that William McKinley would be the Presidential candidate, the tendency to call upon the leading Republican statesman of New Jersey to take the second place was marked.

The conspicuity of Mr. Hobart in the public affairs and business interests of New Jersey has been for several years a matter of national distinction, and that he had a large share of the credit for the revolution that placed New Jersey safely as a Republican State is common fame. Given the divided condition of the New England States and of New York, in regard to personal preferences, and the solidity of New Jersey for Hobart, and the result that has been so pleasantly received was in sight and inevitable, though there were many candidates of high qualities.

Ex-Judge J. Franklin Fort made the nominating speech that placed Mr. Hobart before the St. Louis Convention, saying:

"For forty years, through the blackness of darkness of a universal triumphant Democracy, the Republicans of New Jersey have maintained their organization and fought as valiantly as if the outcome were to be assured victory. Only twice through all this long period has the sun shone in upon us. Yet through all these weary years, we have, like Goldsmith's 'Captive,' felt that—

> "Hope, like the gleaming taper's light,
> Adorns and cheers our way;
> And still, as darker grows the night,
> Emits a brighter ray."

"The fulfillment of this hope came in 1894. In that year, for the first time since the Republican party came into existence, we sent to Congress a solid delegation of eight Republicans, and elected a Republican to the United States Senate. We followed this in 1895 by electing a Republican Governor by a majority of 28,000. And in this year of grace we expect to give the Republican electors a majority of not less than 20,000.

"I come to you then, to-day, in behalf of a new New Jersey, a politically redeemed and regenerated State. Old things have passed away, and behold, all things have become new.

"It is many long years since New Jersey has received recognition by a National Convention.

"When Henry Clay stood for Protection in 1844, New Jersey furnished Theodore Frelinghuysen as his associate. The issue then was the restoration of the tariff, and was more nearly like that of to-day than at any other period, which I can recall, in the nation's political history. In 1856 when the freedom of man brought the Republican party into existence and the great 'Pathfinder' was called to lead, New Jersey furnished for that unequal contest William L. Dayton, as the Vice-Presidential candidate. Since then, counting for nothing, we have asked for nothing. During this period Maine has had a candidate for President and a Vice-President; Massachusetts a Vice-President; New York three Vice-Presidents, one of whom became President for almost a full term; Indiana a President, a candidate for President and a Vice-President; Illinois a President twice and a Vice-Presidential candidate; Ohio two Presidents, and now a candidate for the third time.

"We would have carried our State at every election for the past ten years if the count had been an honest one. We succeeded in throttling the ballot-box stuffers and imprisoning the corrupt election officers, only to have the whole raft of them pardoned in a day, to work again their nefarious practices upon an honest people. But to-day, under ballot reform laws, with an honest count we know we can win. It has been a long, terrible strife to the goal, but we have reached it unaided and unassisted

from without, and we come to-day promising to the ticket here selected the vote of New Jersey, whether you give us the Vice-Presidential candidate or not. We make it no test of our Republicanism that we have a candidate. We have been too long used to fighting for principle for that; but we do say that you can by granting our request lighten our burden and make us a confident party, with victory in sight, even before the contest begins.

"Will we carry Colorado, Montana, and Nevada this year if the Democracy declare for silver at 16 to 1? Let us hope we may. New Jersey has as many electoral votes as those three States together.

"Will you not make New Jersey sure to take their place in case of need? We have in all these long years of Republicanism been the 'lone star' Democratic State in the North. Our forty years of wandering in the wilderness of Democracy are ended. Our Egyptian darkness disappears. We are on the hill-top, looking into the promised land. Encourage us as we march over into the political Canaan of Republicanism, there to remain, by giving us a leader on the National ticket to go up with us.

"We are proud of our public men. Their Republicanism and love of country has been welded in the furnace of political adversity. That man is a Republican who adheres to the party in a State where there is no hope for the gratification of personal ambitions. There are no camp followers in the minority party in any State. They are all true

soldiers in the militant army, doing valiant service without reward, gain, or the hope thereof, from principle only.

"A true representative of this class of Republicans in New Jersey we offer you to-day. He is in the prime of life, a never-faltering friend, with qualities of leadership unsurpassed, of sterling honor, of broad mind, of liberal views, of wide public information, of great business capacity, and withal a parliamentarian who would grace the Presidency of the Senate of the United States. A native of our State, the son of an humble farmer, he was reared to love of country in sight of the historic field of Monmouth, on which the blood of our ancestors was shed that the Republic might exist. From a poor boy, unaided and alone, he has risen to high renown among us.

"In our State we have done for him all that the political conditions would permit."

The orator proceeded to sketch rapidly and forcibly the career of the Hon. Garret A. Hobart, and named him as the candidate of his State for the Vice-Presidency. There was a personal tribute and assertion in the nomination of Mr. Hobart when once the Convention was in possession of his name that resembled the march of McKinley to the front, moved by the irresistible force of public opinion. There was a common characteristic in the nominations, showing the representative and executive capacity of the Convention.

THE VOTE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

The following is the detailed vote for Vice-President:

ALABAMA—Hobart, 10; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 11.
ARKANSAS—Hobart, 10; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 5.
CALIFORNIA—Hobart, 14; Bulkeley, 1; Evans,
CONNECTICUT—Bulkeley, 12.
DELAWARE—Hobart, 6.
FLORIDA—Hobart, 5; Evans, 3.
GEORGIA—Hobart, 5; Evans, 21.
ILLINOIS—Hobart, 44; Evans, 4.
INDIANA—Hobart, 12; Evans, 16; Reed, 1; Thurston, 1.
IOWA—Hobart, 8; Bulkeley, 10; Evans, 5; Grant, 2; Reed, 1.
KANSAS—Hobart, 20.
KENTUCKY—Hobart, 8; Evans, 17; Depew, 1.
LOUISIANA—Hobart, 8; Evans, 8.
MAINE—Hobart, 2; Bulkeley, 2; Evans, 5; Depew, 2; Morton, 1.
MARYLAND—Hobart, 14; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 1.
MASSACHUSETTS—Hobart, 14; Bulkeley, 4; Evans, 12.
MICHIGAN—Hobart, 21; Evans, 7.
MINNESOTA—Hobart, 6; Evans, 12.
MISSISSIPPI—Hobart, 13; Evans, 5.
MISSOURI—Hobart, 10; Evans, 23; Thurston, 1.
MONTANA—Hobart, 1 (five absent).
NEBRASKA—Hobart, 16.
NEVADA—Hobart, 3.
NEW HAMPSHIRE—Hobart, 8.
NEW JERSEY—Hobart, 20.
NEW YORK—Hobart, 72.
NORTH CAROLINA—Hobart, 1½; Evans, 20½.
NORTH DAKOTA—Hobart, 3; Evans, 3.
OHIO—Hobart, 25; Bulkeley, 6; Evans, 15.
OREGON—Hobart, 8.
PENNSYLVANIA—Hobart, 64.
RHODE ISLAND—Lippitt, 8.
SOUTH CAROLINA—Hobart, 3; Evans, 15.
SOUTH DAKOTA—Hobart, 8.
TENNESSEE—Evans, 24.

HON. BENJAMIN HARRISON.

HON. R. PROCTOR.

TEXAS—Hobart, 11; Evans, 12.
UTAH—Hobart, 5.
VERMONT—Hobart, 8.
VIRGINIA—James A. Walker, 24.
WASHINGTON—Hobart, 8.
WEST VIRGINIA—Hobart, 3; Evans, 20; Reed, 1.
WYOMING—Hobart, 6.
ARIZONA—Hobart, 4; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 1.
OKLAHOMA—Hobart, 4; Evans, 2.
INDIAN TERRITORY—Hobart, 6.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Hobart, 2.
ALASKA—Hobart, 4.

Totals—Hobart, 535½; Evans, 277½; Bulkeley, 39; James A. Walker, 24; Lippitt, 8; Reed, 3; Depew, 3; Thurston, 2; Grant, 2; Morton, 1.

Absent—Montana, 5; Nevada, 3; Texas, 7; Colorado, 8; New Mexico, 6. Total absent, 29. Necessary to a choice, 448.

Mr. Hobart is one of those fortunate men of whom all his neighbors speak well, and we will give a terse and comprehensive statement of the leading facts of his life:

"Garret Augustus Hobart was born June 3d, 1844, at Long Branch. His ancestors were English on his father's and Dutch on his mother's side. He graduated from Rutgers College in 1863, and taught school for three months, and then commenced the study of law with the late ex-Mayor Socrates Tuttle at the latter's office, in Ellison Street. Mr. Hobart also became a member of Mr. Tuttle's family, and on July 21st, 1869, he married Mr. Tuttle's daughter, Jennie, an accomplished lady, who inherits much of the keen intellectuality and sparkling wit for which her father was noted. This union laid for Mr. Hobart the foundation of a domestic life of singular felicity.

"From the entrance of Mr. Hobart upon his duties of manhood he developed qualities of a remarkable nature, and almost immediately upon his admission to the bar he began a career of professional, business, and political success which has had few equals among the citizens of his State, and which could only have been achieved through natural endowments of ability, energy, enterprise, and popularity such as are seldom seen in combination in one individual.

"The first public office Mr. Hobart held was that of city counsel of Paterson in 1871. In 1872 he was made counsel to the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Passaic County, but declined re-relection. In November, 1872, he was elected as a Republican to represent the Third district of Passaic County in the State Assembly, receiving the largest majority that the district had ever given. Mr. Hobart, although he came of staunch Democratic stock, early embraced the principles of the Republican party, and soon became, and still remains, its foremost leader in his county and State, while his abilities have in later years been constantly in demand in the national councils of his party.

"Mr. Hobart, as a member of the Legislature, at once took the highest rank. He was re-elected to the Assembly in 1873, and was chosen Speaker of that body. He was strongly urged by his constituents to serve them a third term, a distinction then unknown in the political history of this county; but he felt constrained to decline. In 1876, how-

ever, in obedience to the overwhelming desire of his party, he accepted the nomination for State Senator, and again his wonderful popularity was manifested by the phenomenal majority of 1,899, the largest ever then cast by the county, exceeding by over one hundred per cent. that given to Mr. Hayes for President.

"Mr. Hobart was elected President of the Senate in 1881, and re-elected in the following year, and discharged the duties of the office with the most brilliant distinction. During his incumbency as Senator he was a member of some of the most important committees, such as Revision of Laws, Education, State Library, Industrial School for Girls, Printing, Fisheries, Elections, etc., and in 1879 to 1880 he was chairman of the committee of first rank, that of the Judiciary.

"His impress as a legislator was permanently stamped upon the statute book of the State, and some of the most useful measures now in force were his work. Among these was the law providing for a summary judicial investigation of the affairs of any county upon the application of twenty-five freeholders, an act which has been a number of times invoked with most salutary results. Another was an act charging the sinking fund of the State with the payment of all the interest and part of the principal of the State debt yearly, reducing the ordinary expenditures some $100,000 per year, which was the cause of the removal of the State tax, upon which New Jersey

prides herself; another was an act for the arbitration of labor disputes, and there were numerous others with which his name is connected as author.

"From 1880 to 1891 Mr. Hobart was chairman of the State Republican Committee of New Jersey, and under his leadership the party conducted some of the most brilliant compaigns of its history. In 1884 he was chosen a member of the Republican National Committee, upon which he has served since that time with such conspicuous ability that he has been entrusted by his colleagues with duties of the most important character, and has constantly served on its Executive Committee, which is charged with the practical management of campaigns. In the same year he was nominated by his party, in joint caucus, as its candidate for United States Senator, but, the Legislature being Democratic, he was defeated for election by the Hon. John R. MacPherson.

"In more than one Presidential contest he has been importuned to accept the chairmanship of the National Committee, a post which the engrossing demands of his large private business compelled him to decline. In politics Mr. Hobart has been one of the most successful of men, a fact largely due to a geniality and bonhommie of nature rarely met with, and to a large-heartedness and generosity that have given him a personal following perhaps equaled by no public man in his State.

"Mr. Hobart's remarkable capacity for business has led to his aid being sought in the organization and

development of perhaps more corporate and private enterprises than any other citizen of New Jersey, and with many of these he is yet connected, either as counsel, director, or in some capacity more or less responsible and active. Among the business concerns with which he is affiliated at the present time are these: He is President of the Passaic Water Company, of the Acquackanonk Water Company, of the Morris County Railroad, and the Paterson Electric Railway Companies; a Director of the New York, Susquehanna & Western Railroad, and the Lehigh & Hudson River Railroad Companies, of the First National Bank of Paterson, of the Paterson Savings Institution, the Barbour Brothers Company, the Barbour Flax Spinning Company, the Pioneer Silk Company, the People's Gas Light Company, the Paterson Electric Light Company, and counsel for the East Jersey Water Company, the West Milford Water Storage Company, the Montclair Water Company, and other allied interests; a Director in the Long Branch Water Company, and the Highland Water Company. He is Treasurer of the Cedar Lawn Cemetery Company, and several land companies, and holds the position of President or Director in at least a score of other corporations.

"Some of Mr. Hobart's most notable achievements have been the discharge of the trusts of Receiver of the New Jersey Midland Railroad Company, of the Montclair Railroad Company, the Jersey City & Albany Railroad Company, and of

the First National Bank of Newark in 1880. This important work was done with an energy and ability that drew from the Chancellor of the State the warmest expressions of approval, the complicated business being wound up and the depositors paid in full inside of six months.

"Perhaps Mr. Hobart's strongest points are his executive ability, his power to see to the bottom of complicated affairs, and his fertility and practicability of resources. His ability to manage a number of important matters at one time has often been a cause of wonderment to his friends. It is not easy to predict what may be the ultimate measure of success of a man of such capacity and achievement, who is now but fifty years of age.

"Mr. Hobart is a man of the finest artistic tastes, cultivated by extensive study and travel."

That Mr. Hobart is an unusually attractive character, is the keynote of the story of Mr. Hobart in the New York *Tribune*, and that is followed by the declaration that it would be impossible to find a man with more interesting sides, charming characteristics, and a generally balanced make-up. It is not that there is any one particularly notable thing that he ever did to make him what he is, but rather a lifetime of acts that were always just right, just the correct thing to do under the existing circumstances, not only to please his friends, but to benefit himself.

"It is a peculiarity of Mr. Hobart," said Governor Griggs, recently, "that he never makes a mistake.

He seems intuitively to know what to do, no matter what the emergency may be, and had he hours and days to consider the subject he could not reach a better decision than he does on the jump, as it were. And another happy faculty of his is that when he once makes a friend he never makes the mistake of losing that friend. Once a friend always a friend is the case with Mr. Hobart. He seems to be able to read character as if it were a book. No man can deceive him. And so, knowing every man's peculiarity, likes, and dislikes, he knows how to take him, and treats him accordingly. The result is that every man coming in contact with him is charmed."

Governor Griggs is right in the last remark. There is a genial magnetism in the personal presence of Mr. Hobart that is fascinating. He is the most approachable of men under any and all circumstances. He is apparently interested in the caller's business, no matter how trivial it may be. Appeal to him on behalf of charity, and his heart is opened at once.

"Is the case all right—is it deserving?" he will ask, and an affirmative answer brings out a check-book or a roll of bills from his vest pocket.

"Sometimes I feel ashamed of my weakness," said he, only a few days since, "but I cannot stand these appeals. Just look at this one mail. Here are twelve letters, and six of them are requests for assistance. What am I to do? I must put a stop to this some time. If I don't I will be put in the place

of these fellows, and will have to go begging myself. I must stop it at once, hard as it is, or I'll be ruined."

Mr. Hobart talked on some other subjects for a few moments, in a half abstracted sort of way, as if wrestling with his conscience or his spirit of benevolence, and then glanced over the letters again. The subject was not orally referred to again, but before the writer had left, he saw Mr. Hobart pull out his check-book and write out six checks for the six applicants. Only a wealthy man could stand such a drain, for there is a constant demand on him for assistance of some sort or another, and it is feared that more than once unscrupulous parties have taken advantage of his generosity, and imposed on his good nature.

It is not alone in financial ways that Mr. Hobart is appealed to continually, but in other ways. If a man gets into trouble and stops to think who can best help him out, the first name that suggests itself is that of Hobart. And he has at one time or other helped so many men, that no matter what happens, when others are in trouble, he generally succeeds in his mission of relief, because he must ask the assistance of somebody whom he has himself helped in former times. For this reason, his influence is boundless among his own people, and really no man can be of more help in times of trouble than he.

Speaking of letters, it may be said that Mr. Hobart never permits one to remain unanswered, no

matter what its character or how trivial it may be. His mail is always immense, but every letter is read by him personally, and an answer dictated or written. If not of special importance, or confidential, the answer is dictated. If the nature of the answer involves something strictly personal and confidential, the answer is written by Mr. Hobart himself. He is a rapid writer, and his chirography is large and plain. His letters are models of comprehensive terseness, no matter under what stress they may have been written. He touches the vital point at once, and expresses it in language that could hardly be improved by hours of study.

And no matter how busy he may be, Mr. Hobart never seems to be in a rush. He can handle half a dozen different subjects at one time, and never get them mixed up. His mind can go from one subject to another of an entirely different character with the rapidity of lightning. He can pick up the thread of a conversation on any subject from the very point where it was dropped the day, the month, the year before. It seems as if his brain were a well-arranged laboratory, with shelves and drawers, on which were stored the memoranda of every subject he has considered, and when the times comes he can take the subject down from the shelf or from the brain receptacle, and resume its consideration the same as one picks up the thread of a continued story from week to week.

His capacity for business is simply tremendous.

He is a director of at least sixty different companies, and his memory is so retentive that he can remember the closest details of each. If the secretary, for instance, were to read off a financial statement adopted at a previous meeting, and there was an error of a figure, he would detect it at once. He is the President of the Paterson Railway Company, which owns all the main trolley lines of the city. He knows the kind of truck, the name of the conductor and motorman, and every detail of every car. As Treasurer of the Cedar Lawn Cemetery Company, he does not confine himself to the financial aspect of the corporation, but can tell the location of every grave and monument. He is the President of the water company that supplies Paterson, and could, perhaps, enumerate the hydrants; and so it is with everything he is connected with, so minutely does his mind grasp everything. One would imagine that, with such a complex system of business as he manages, his brain would be all in a whirl; but it is not. When he goes to bed at night he throws away all thoughts of business as he would take off his clothes, and his head is not on his pillow three minutes before he is sleeping like a tired child.

It cannot be denied that Mr. Hobart was born under a lucky star of some kind. Everything he connects himself with is apparently successful. It is for this reason that every time something new is started he is besought to take stock in it, for the originators of the scheme have confidence that the

magic name of Hobart is all that is necessary to secure the permanency and success of the enterprise. It is only thirty-three years ago that Mr. Hobart was graduated from Rutgers and began teaching school. His present acquaintances have to give their imaginations a rough stretch to conceive him sitting on a platform behind a desk instilling into freckled-faced boys the rudiments of spelling and the intricacies of the multiplication table. But the narrow walls of the school-room were too small to confine him long, and he went to study law with Socrates Tuttle, formerly Mayor of Paterson.

When he arrived in Paterson Mr. Hobart had a new suit of clothes and a dollar and a half in cash. That constituted his entire capital. It seems that Mr. Tuttle's father and Mr. Hobart's father were old-time friends in Monmouth County, and so great was their intimacy that even before "Gus" was born it was arranged between them that if the expected child was a boy he would study law under the elder Mr. Tuttle's son, who had then left the blacksmith forge to devote himself to Blackstone. Well, Mr. Hobart proved to be a boy. That was his first lucky strike, for otherwise he might not have received the Vice-Presidential nomination! When the time came, the agreement between the old folks was carried out, and young Hobart not only went to study law with Mr. Tuttle, but he became a member of his family—another lucky thing, for the lad did not have enough money to pay board. It was a lucky

arrangement for still another reason, for it threw Mr. Hobart in daily companionship with Mr. Tuttle's charming and accomplished daughter Jennie, and the two naturally fell in love. They couldn't help it. Mr. Hobart was fascinated with the pretty, vivacious young woman, who will shortly shine in Washington society, while she could not help admiring the rosy-faced, rugged, amiable, and happy "Gus." "And so they were married," and as the story books say of the fairies, "lived happily forever afterward."

It is about thirty years ago that Mr. Hobart had his first law case, just after having been admitted to the bar. It was some trivial suit before a Justice of the Peace. The young attorney won the case, and was as happy as a peacock. No one then imagined the rapid strides the youthful-looking lawyer was destined to make. But it was not the ordinary course of a lawyer. He always, strange as it may seem, discouraged litigation to the extent that it would be carried into court. His method of dealing with a case would be something like this:

His client, having laid down the usual retaining fee, Mr. Hobart would ask:

"Well, what is your side of the case?" And the client would tell.

"Now," he would ask, "what does the other fellow claim?"

This would also be related. Then Mr. Hobart would argue this way: "You claim this, and your

adversary says such and such is the case. Now, what does the difference amount to?"

In a singularly practical way the young attorney would bring the thing right down to the merits, and then, as if by intuition, make some sort of a suggestion that would, if accepted, make his client satisfied and his opponent willing. Mr. Hobart would probably go to see the man on the other side and talk to him. That settled it. No one could resist the magnetic influence of the young lawyer. All the fight would be talked out of both sides, and the chances were that in nine cases out of ten in less than twenty-four hours the two "deadly enemies" would be shaking hands together and be for the rest of their lives the warmest friends.

In this way Mr. Hobart has been going through life, smoothing things, making friends, not only for himself, but making friends between other people. His genial personal attention and influence have probably amicably settled more controversies than any other hundred men have done in the State of New Jersey. His entire course in life has been to make things harmonious rather than to stir up strife. It is for this reason that, while Mr. Hobart has had an immense legal business ever since he first hung out his shingle, he has actually appeared in court a smaller number of times than, perhaps, any other lawyer in Passaic County. The short and satisfactory manner of his adjusting disputes gave him more time to attend to a larger number of cases than those who

were waiting around the court-rooms, and consequently he made more money, and made it more rapidly than the ordinary lawyer.

It was his remarkable ability to settle matters from a practical business standpoint, rather than from a legal aspect, that made Mr. Hobart the great success that he is, that has increased his capital from $1.50 to—well no one knows how much it is now. As soon as he began to make a little money he invested it, and he never made a mistake in the character of his investments that is known. The same judgment and foresight that directed his work for others guided him in his own affairs, and he seemed to know the good from the bad, the safe from the unsafe, as if by instinct. Hardly instinct, however, for that might not have been so unerring.

And here a note may be made of Mr. Hobart's marvelous knowledge of passing affairs. He knows everything about everybody in some mysterious manner. Take some information to him, and he listens gladly, almost voraciously, but when you are through he will tell you still later developments. He knows the financial standing of every man or firm of prominence in the country. The standing of every corporation, railroad, or other enterprise he seems to know all about. In regard to individuals he can tell one the standing, the peculiarities, the successes, and trials of almost any man one could name in the State of New Jersey, and most of those in New

York. His knowledge of all these details has frequently amazed his most intimate friends.

His acquaintanceship is remarkably wide. He personally knows all the great men of the country, and it may be truthfully said that among his friends there are about as many Democrats as Republicans. And they all like him regardless of political proclivities. It is for this reason that Mr. Hobart will receive the support of so many Democrats. It is believed that the vote of Paterson will be almost unanimous.

Mr. Hobart is the most unassuming of men. He has horses and carriages galore, but he generally walks from his house to his office. On Sunday afternoons, perhaps, he may generally be seen out in his four-seated surrey, driving through the park or the suburbs, but never alone. He is too sociable for that. Sometimes he and Mrs. Hobart may be seen on the road behind a pair of bay horses, Mr. Hobart holding the reins, and he is an expert driver, but generally there is a crowd in the carriage with him, and the carriage he likes best will seat twelve persons. Many prominent men have ridden in that vehicle.

Immense as Mr. Hobart's business transactions are, the doors of his office are never closed. There is no Holy of Holies marked "Private," the only thing on the door being the unostentatious name, "Mr. Hobart." And that door is always open. If a visitor calls he can see the top of a partly bald head

sticking over a roll-top desk seven feet long, and if there is some one sitting at the end of the desk it can be seen that he is engaged. Otherwise it is "walk in," and a cordial greeting and hearty welcome that makes one at ease at once.

Mr. Hobart is always at home to his friends when he is at home himself, in his house, at Carroll and Ellison Streets. Before the blizzard he lived out in Twelfth Avenue, where Governor Griggs now lives, but on the night of the big snow he could not get home. That settled it. He was not going to live in any place that he could not reach in all sorts of weather, and so he bought the house in which he now lives. This has been remodelled considerably in the interior, and a large art gallery added.

Mr. Hobart had received assurances weeks ago that made him almost sure of getting the nomination if he would accept it, but not until the last moment did he really take the matter into serious consideration. Said he the day before he started for St. Louis:

"If Mr. Reed will take it, he can have it unanimously, but I have been told that he will not take it. If New York can agree on a man, all my friends will withdraw my name at once in favor of the New York man. If these things do not happen, the nomination will come to me, and, really, I don't know whether I like it or not. I would rather have a few complimentary votes and be defeated than get

CONVENTION HALL, ST. LOUIS, MO.

GARRETT A. HOBART.

it; but if I get the nomination I will be elected—don't make any mistake about that."

Of all the appointments or honors that Mr. Hobart ever received, he felt the proudest of being selected one of the three arbitrators of the Joint Traffic Association. The duties of this office are so delicate, and the appointment involves a tacit indorsement of the incumbent's integrity and honesty to such a high degree that it is the highest sort of a compliment, and Mr. Hobart was unreservedly pleased that such a great honor should have been placed upon him.

Mr. Hobart is known by everybody in Paterson, and everybody admires and respects him. There is more real affection, as affection goes between men and men, for him than perhaps for any other man in the State of New Jersey. What makes it this way is hard to describe. It is perhaps the possession of a marvelous degree of tact. The same tact, or good judgment, or ability to read character, or whatever it may be, will make him one of the most successful presiding officers the Senate ever had.

As Governor Griggs says:

"Mr. Hobart, being in strict harmony and close intimacy with Major McKinley, will have more influence with the administration and have more to say about the policy of the government than any Vice-President we have ever had. Major McKinley is not a man who will pull himself into his shell and rely entirely on his own judgment, like his pre-

decessor. Nor is there likely to be any rupture between the President and Vice-President because of their mutual jealousy, as there has been. On the contrary, there will be the closest relations between them, and, as I said before, under Mr. Hobart's incumbency the Vice-Presidency will by no means be the mere nonentity that it has been in the past."

Right back of the presiding officer's desk, in the State Assembly Chamber, Trenton, is the Speaker's room. Among the pictures on the walls of that apartment is a boyish-looking photograph of Garret A. Hobart. At the time it was taken Mr. Hobart was thirty years old—'tis twenty-two years ago—and he was there as Speaker of the House, the third highest official in New Jersey. Three years later Mr. Hobart went to the Senate, and twice during two terms there he was President of that body.

Those who served with Mr. Hobart in either house have nothing but pleasant things to say about him, and this is as true of Democrats as Republicans. His absolutely spotless integrity, his unswerving firmness, and uniform courtesy won him the admiration of all.

Mr. Hobart has been a McKinley enthusiast.

He was an occasional contributor to *The New Jersey State Gazette*, published at Trenton, which is ex-Congressman Brewer's home. In 1882, he wrote in one of his letters this sketch of McKinley, ending it with words that are truly prophetic, when recent developments are considered:

"I present to you in this picture another prominent member of the present Congress, in the person of the Hon. William McKinley, of Ohio. He reminds me of Daniel Webster in face and form. Take him all in all, he is the Webster of the House. In apppearance about forty years old, with smooth face, high and full forehead, and deep-set eyes, with a well-covered head of dark brown hair, he is a bright, pleasant, intelligent, fine-looking, dignified man. To me he is one of the most cultured and dignified members of the Forty-seventh Congress. A winning speaker, with fine, crisp voice, perfectly distinct in all parts of the House, he always presents his argument in concise form, with ringing and dramatic effect, forcing attention from every one and respect from all. Not a chronic speaker in any respect, his good judgment in handling all questions he is interested in commands the respect and confidence absolutely of his political friends, and that without antagonizing by discourtesy or want of tact those opposing him, a rare qualification for a member of such a metropolitan and cosmopolitan school as the House of Representatives. His ability, dignity, and genial disposition draw to him the admiration and affection, so to speak, of all who come in contact with him. A hard worker both on and off the floor, he has taken a very prominent part as one of the Committee on Ways and Means, in which capacity upon several important items he has shown marked practical ability,

and as one of the lieutenants of Judge Kelley has rendered important service and displayed signal ability. He is destined to be one of the idols of the people of this country. Reader. mark this man, and see if I am not correct."

Mrs. Hobart is a Presbyterian and a member of the Church of the Redeemer of Paterson. She is one of a Tuesday class which last year studied Dante under Professor Davidson.

"But lately," she said brightly, "my favorite literature has been the newspapers."

Questioning was not necessary to the discovery that her favorite subject is Garret A. Hobart. "He has always worked for New Jersey," she enthusiastically declared. "He made his first political speech while he was yet a student. He has run for office without a chance of election, fought against odds for his party. But as I wrote to a friend after his second defeat for the Senate, 'Mr. Hobart will never again run for public office; I positively refuse to write any more speeches for him.'" This with a laugh.

One of the ladies living near Mrs. Hobart says:

"I think if I was asked to describe my impression of Mrs. Hobart in three words I would enthusiastically answer: 'Bright, cordial and womanly'—as any stranger would; but since I have lived in the same city with her for twenty years, and see her on the streets and in her carriage frequently, I can go much further and assure *The Tribune* that if, or

rather when, Mrs. Hobart assumes the position of second lady in the land she will fill the bill to perfection.

"Without sacrificing her dignity, Mrs. Hobart is of a merry, mischievous disposition, bright of wit and ready with an answer upon any subject. She is a brilliant conversationalist, a wide reader and thoroughly up in politics. As a hostess she is at her very best. The elegant hospitality of the Hobarts is well and widely known, and many famous men in science, art, literature, and politics have gathered around their mahogany. Just at present, however, the shadow of great and sore trouble rests deeply upon the family, and Mrs. Hobart's deep mourning is but faintly indicative of the heartrending she has suffered, when, just about a year ago, while on a trip to Europe, their only daughter, a cultured and lovely girl of twenty, sickened and died."

Mr. Hobart on returning home from St. Louis talked to a Paterson *Call* reporter, and said:

"Major McKinley's friends were my friends and the two went together."

Asked about his sensation on being nominated, Mr. Hobart said:

"I wasn't in the Convention Hall at all at the time. I was mighty hungry and had gone for some supper. While I was eating, about a quarter past eight o'clock on Thursday evening, some one rushed in and interrupted me with the news that I had been nominated. I was not the least bit surprised. I

had expected it. I was so sure of it that I had not even taken the trouble to stay to find out, but went to get my supper as if there was nothing unusual going on."

"Then," remarked the reporter, "I presume the crowds began to rush in and congratulate you?"

"Yes, by droves. And what pleased me much was the hearty congratulations I received from H. Clay Evans, of Tennessee, and the other Vice-Presidential candidates. Mr. Evans is a first-rate fellow and a good man, and he has a lot of friends. When he came to me voluntarily and congratulated me pledges that not only he but all his friends would turn in and work for me as hard as they would have worked for him, it made me feel very happy indeed.

"A man would not be human not to be pleased with such a distinction as that. As you know, I did not personally care for this nomination. It was entirely foreign to what I had been looking forward to. When it was first proposed, I positively refused to take the matter into consideration. But then came proffers from all over, urging me to accept it, till I began to feel strange about it, and wavered in my determination, until the New Jersey Republican State Convention came out flat-footed and unanimously indorsed me as New Jersey's candidate for the nomination. What could I do then? Time and time again I had appealed to the Republicans of New Jersey to stand by me or my friends, and they had always complied with the request. Now when these

same friends turned around and asked a favor of me, demanded it, in fact, what could I do? Should I refuse it? Should I go back on those who had always stood by me in past times? I simply could not, and the matter was settled from the time that I gave my word that I would do nothing to prevent the current that was going all my way. When I got to St. Louis it was practically settled."

"And without any special effort on your part?"

"I want to tell you emphatically that it was without the expenditure of a single cent of money, without a pledge of any sort whatever, without a deal or combination with any living man or party of men, without the use of any influence whatever. I take the nomination as free and unpledged and untrammeled by any pledges or promises as you are yourself this moment. And while on this subject let me say that Major McKinley has not made a single pledge, notwithstanding all the reports to that effect. You can positively deny that the Major has made any promises whatever, or that Mr. Hanna has made any for him."

"By the way, that was a pretty good move making Hanna the chairman of the National Committee, wasn't it?"

"Yes, it was a wise move, I think. Hanna is a hustler. He is one of the smartest and most sagacious leaders I know. He hasn't made a mistake. It is singular, too, isn't it, that a man who is essentially a business man, a successful one, too, by the

way, should thus suddenly step into politics and assume the leadership of a great movement on behalf of a warm personal friend, and sweep the country like a whirlwind? Such a man is a remarkable man, and I think the committee did a good thing in selecting him as their chairman in the coming campaign."

"What will be the main issues of the coming campaign, Mr. Hobart?"

"Sound money and protection to American industries. The magnificent platform adopted at St. Louis illustrates the principles for which the Republican party will fight this fall. You have read it?"

"Carefully."

"Well, that is my platform. That is the platform of the party. That is the platform on which the next President will be elected. There is no doubt of the election of the candidates nominated on such a platform as that."

"What will be your part in the campaign?"

"New Jersey and the business end. Major McKinley will do the stumping and other speaking. I will look more after the business part of it, as usual. You know there is a great deal to do in regard to the matter of organization, campaign literature, and all that. Well, I will have an oversight over that, in conjunction with the committee, of course. My headquarters will be right here in Paterson."

The most enthusiastic person around was the wide-awake son of his father, "Junior," who was with

difficulty repressed from shooting off Roman candles in the parlor. His breast was covered with McKinley and Hobart medals till he looked like a sharpshooter of fifteen years' record in the National Guard. He had been wearing these for several days. His mother had more than once asked him what he would do with all the medals if papa did not get nominated, but the little fellow's faith was unbounded. He reiterated from the start that he would continue to wear all the medals he had and lots of others beside. One young man in this country, at least, had the fullest confidence that Garret A. Hobart would be the Republican candidate for Vice-President. His own name is the name of the man who will be the next Vice-President. He will be the youngest candidate that was ever voted for. Whether there will be a contest between him and his father as to which of the two is elected, when the time comes, remains to be seen.

THE WELCOME HOME OF MR. HOBART.

A most interesting account of the reception of the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency, on his return home, is given, and it is one that will tell the story to the people of the whole country of the estimation in which he is held by his neighbors.

"Paterson never saw such a night!"

Such was the exclamation of almost everybody who went through the celebration in the city of

which Mr. Hobart has long been one of the foremost citizens.

Every man, woman, and child in the city was on the streets it seemed. The streets were blocked with a merrymaking, jolly people, out to rejoice over the honor done to Paterson in the nomination of Garret A. Hobart for Vice-President.

It was an unique celebration in every way. No political gathering was ever like it, and for the very good reason that it was not a political gathering, though the honor is a political one. It was a demonstration of citizens, who laid their political prejudices aside to rejoice over the great good fortune of their fellow-citizen. All the well-known Democrats in the city turned out, as well as those who are not "well known," and entered into the spirit of the occasion with unrestrained feelings. It is needless to say that every Republican in the city was out in the demonstration—in fact, everybody was out.

The whole town made a fête of it—a civic celebration. The people were wildly enthusiastic, and never on any one occasion before was there such a show of rejoicing. It beat the Fourth of July for fireworks, and it beat the Centennial celebration for decorations.

When the armory had filled and fully 15,000 people were looking up with expectation to the officers' gallery, Vice-President Hobart, Governor Griggs, Judge John Hopper, and Mayor Braun stepped forward in full view of the assembled multitude. And

such a reception! It was indescribable. For many minutes there was one deafening roar; the bands played, the drums beat, the trumpets blared, the fish-horns tooted and the people cheered, yelled, stamped their feet, and waved their hats and handkerchiefs. When at length the semblance of order was obtained, Judge Hopper advanced ahead of the others. He was given a grand ovation.

The venerable Judge's voice is not so strong as it has been, and but few could hear his address, but the assemblage cheered just the same at very frequent intervals. He said:

JUDGE HOPPER'S SPEECH.

"*Fellow-Citizens, Ladies, and Gentlemen:* It falls upon me to say that during all the many years I have lived in Paterson I have never seen an occasion like this. The people of Paterson, without distinction of party, sex, age, race, color, or creed, have assembled to do honor to our esteemed fellow-citizen, Garret A. Hobart. [Cheers.] My duty in this connection is very simple and plain, but I cannot help taking advantage of the opportunity to express my personal appreciation of the honor that has been conferred upon one of our fellow-townsmen, which is the occasion of this meeting. It is a great pleasure, of course, to see one of our own fellow-citizens honored by receiving the nomination for the second highest office in the United States. And we are here to-night to express our personal apprecia-

tion of his character, and the esteem in which he is held by his fellow-townsmen, regardless of party. My simple duty to-night, fellow-citizens, is to introduce to you his Honor, Mayor Braun, who has been selected to preside over this magnificent gathering." [Great cheering.]

Mayor Braun was also given a great ovation when he arose. He said:

MAYOR BRAUN'S SPEECH.

"*Fellow-Citizens:* It gives me great pleasure in responding to your invitation to preside at this meeting, and I thank you for the honor. As I understand it, this is not a political meeting, and our gathering here has no political significance. Without regard to party we meet here to-night to congratulate our old friend and neighbor, Garret A. Hobart, on his nomination for the high office of Vice-President of the United States. [Wild cheers.] We are all glad that such an honor has fallen on one of our townsmen, and we all look upon it as an honor to our community. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you, as the speaker of the evening, the Hon. John W. Griggs, Governor of the State of New Jersey."

Governor Griggs' appearance provoked another outburst. While the cheering was in progress Robinson's Second Regiment band struck up "America," and the graceful orator stood silently waiting for the demonstration to cease. He said:

GOVERNOR GRIGGS' SPEECH.

"When the visitor to St. Paul's cathedral inquires for the monument of Sir Christopher Wren, he is told to look around him. If any expression is wanted of the esteem in which our distinguished friend and fellow-citizen is held by his friends and neighbors of Paterson, look around you! This great gathering, composed of all parties, varying in their political faith and in their political hope, are unanimous in doing honor to Garret A. Hobart.

"Such universal demonstrations of regard are often reserved until the objects of them are dead and beyond capacity of appreciation. Happy fortune for our friend, that now, in the meridian of his life, he can realize the affectionate favor of his fellow-townsmen!

"For thirty years and more he has lived and wrought among us, working out his destiny in quiet, unassuming modesty. Four times before this the people of his county have called him to their service, which he has performed with an ability and distinction that have reflected credit upon his constituents. Now a great political party has raised him to a position of world-wide interest, and placed his name alongside those of other great Jerseymen—Theodore Frelinghuysen and William L. Dayton—as worthy of being called the heir apparent of the Presidency of the United States.

"In this honor so well merited all our people rejoice. Though we may differ in political hopes, we unite in testifying our delight at the honor that he has won, and the distinction he has brought to our city. Those who are of the same political faith as he will glory doubly if his election shall follow his nomination, while in the same event, political opponents will be glad that such honor has fallen upon a townsman whom they so much esteem, and that, so far as he is concerned, the government will be ably and worthily administered.

"But, as I have said, this is no partisan demonstration. It is, Mr. Hobart, the welcome of a city whose people are all your friends and admirers; the voice of your neighbors uplifted in harmony to testify the pride, the esteem, the affection that they have in and for you. The sounds that have enlivened our streets since last Thursday night are—

> "'Sounds as though some fair city were one voice
> Around a king returning from his wars.'

"I am glad to give you this heartfelt greeting of your fellow-citizens, to assure you of their confidence and esteem, to tell you in their name that they know your goodness, your noble, disinterested, often concealed services; your modesty and your manly worth.

"God bless and keep you! And whatever more of honor or preferment shall come in the future, your fellow-Patersonians claim the right to share in them

by reflected light, as they know they will be honorably earned and worthily won."

OVATION TO MR. HOBART.

When Mr. Hobart appeared it seemed as if the great assemblage had lost their sanity. The former ovations dwindled into insignificance in comparison to this. Mr. Hobart made as if to speak when he arose, but he was kept standing for almost five minutes before he was allowed to utter a word. In every conceivable and inconceivable way the great popularity of the man was made manifest. The enthusiasm reached to a stage almost beyond all bounds. The bands were playing different tunes, the drums were thumping away unconcerned with harmony, every instrument in the hall was emitting sound of the loudest possible kind, and the people shouted and stamped until it looked as if they could not stop.

As each succeeding wave of enthusiasm was at the minimum, Mr. Hobart braced himself to make his address, but the motion provoked a new outburst, and as the surging noise arose Mr. Hobart subsided for the moment. Robinson's Second Regiment band struck up "See the Conquering Hero Comes," and this carried another great wave with it. As the enthusiasm was spending itself, the wheelmen on one side of the hall raised the club cry of the Tourist Cycle Club, and this was vociferated over the hall. Then,

"He's all right!"

"Who's all right?"

"Hobart;" followed by another great shout of approval.

Finally the waiting figure on the verge of the gallery straightened himself up and began to speak. "Hush," went over the hall in a loud stage whisper that drowned Mr. Hobart's voice, but at length he was allowed to proceed, and between frequent and loud bursts of applause he said:

MR. HOBART'S SPEECH.

"*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends and Neighbors of the city of Paterson:* If ever there was a time when I was embarrassed, this is the time, this is the exact moment. Often have I wished that I possessed the grace of oratory and the grace of diction which our Governor has to such a full extent. But I have it not; and in the plainest words possible, my friends, I can only tender to you for this magnificent testimonial, this superb tribute to me and to the State of New Jersey, which in some degree I represent, my deepest thanks for all this scene, for all the confidence in me which you have shown.

"I would rather have the confidence and esteem of my fellow-citizens, including men of all political parties whom I find here to-night, than have any office in the gift of the people. It is only the non-partisan aspect of this assemblage that makes it

possible for me to be here at all to-night, because under any other circumstances it would not be proper nor prudent for me to address you at this time.

"I have lived in the city of Paterson thirty years or more, and during the whole of that time I have enjoyed the confidence and esteem of Democrats like my venerable friend, Judge John Hopper, who was one of the first friends I had in Paterson, and has always been one of the warmest friends I have had in this city. I have likewise enjoyed the friendship and esteem of such Democrats as Mayor Christian Braun (who so kindly consented to preside here to-night), ex-Mayor Nathan Barnert, ex-Mayor Nathaniel Townsend, ex-Judge James Inglis, our former Congressman, Cornelius A. Cadmus, ex-Senator John Mallon, John Agnew, Bernard Katz, Philip Katz, ex-Judge John R. Daggers, William B. Gourley, Eugene Stevenson, Michael Dunn, Munson Force, ex-Postmaster John Johnson, County Clerk A. D Winfield, ex-Senator John Hinchliffe, ex-Alderman Ned Fanning, Hugh Kerr, and a host of other leading Democrats. And from the very moment I came to Paterson, I have never lost the friendship of a single one of them, and never will if I can help it. I want to reiterate the statement that I would rather have the esteem and friendship of my neighbors and fellow-townsmen than I would to be honored with the highest office in the land.

"As this is not a political meeting, you will permit me a moment or so of reminiscence. When I came to Paterson, a boy twenty years old, there was less than 25,000 people in this city. There were no hospitals, hardly any streets, no macadamized roads, no railroads, and comparatively few churches. What a marvelous change has come over us since then! In thirty years the population of the city has grown to 100,000; we have five daily newspapers, fifty miles of paved streets, one hundred miles of macadamized roads around us, churches without number, hospitals, a day nursery, fifty miles of trolley roads, taking the people to and from their homes.

"Now the point I wish to make is the importance of civic pride and public spirit. It is this that has produced the marvelous change in our city in this period. I have been guilty myself of some of that pride in the city of Paterson, and I rejoice in it. I invoke you Democrats and Republicans alike to do even more than you have done, to manifest more civic pride, more public spirit; to make Paterson what it is destined to be, the greatest city of the future of the State of New Jersey; to make it possible to have larger factories and more of them; to bring more people here; to have more and better homes for them, and so make it the leading city in New Jersey. We want to make it a city of comfortable homes for working people, and with ample facilities for them to earn enough to own and enjoy their homes. It is in the advancement of this idea

that I have devoted my time, my energy, my work, to the best of my ability, in order that I might more fully show my regard and affection for those who surround me; those with whom I am in friendly contact every day of my life.

"Whatever I am, whatever I may be, whatever position in life may come to me, I shall be only too glad to dedicate myself to you. I have been nominated for a great office. If I shall be called to exercise the functions of this office I shall endeavor to exercise them with all the fidelity, with all the vigor, with all the ability that God has given me; and if in the great mutations of politics, the great, sudden, unexpected changes which might take place in a few months, and candidates shall be elected by the millions of voters other than those nominated at St. Louis, I shall bow to the will of the majority and continue to live in Paterson, to be your good friend, your kind neighbor, your esteemed fellow-citizen. Whatever I have acquired has been acquired in the city of Paterson, and belongs here. Whatever of repute has come to me, belongs likewise to your city. And so this honor, which has just become mine, is also yours. Whatever I have, whatever I shall have, is and will be one to the citizens of Paterson, to the confidence and esteem of my friends and neighbors, which I have always so greatly enjoyed. Perhaps I cannot better express my idea than by concluding with a quotation from Robert Burns, wherein he says:

" 'The monarch may forget the crown that on his head an hour hath been;
The bridegroom may forget the bride was made his wedded wife yestreen;
The mother may forget the child that smiled so sweetly on her knee;
But I'll remember thee, Glencairn, and all that thou hast done for me.' "

In the above report of Mr. Hobart's speech, which was delivered with self-possession and a modest eloquence peculiarly characteristic of the speaker, we have omitted parenthesizing the applause for the reason that it would necessitate injecting an ejaculation or plaudit at the end of every sentence. In fact, the speech was injected so full of enthusiastic interruptions that it would have disconcerted an ordinary speaker. The bass and tenor drums, horns, trumpets, torpedoes, and even pistol shots, that accompanied the rounds that were repeated almost continually made a terrifically noisy chorus. Through it all Mr. Hobart spoke, pausing but momentarily at each outbreak, so that portions of his sentences could only be heard by those near him. *The Call* reporter managed to get close by the speaker and so succeeded in catching nearly every word he spoke.

The scene, judged from the standpoint of enthusiasm, from novelty, from every aspect of uniqueness, was something absolutely unprecedented in the history of politics. Present in the gallery were a score of experienced editors and reporters from all over the country, several prominent men of experience in public affairs and others, all of whom said that never

before had they not only not seen, but never heard of such a demonstration. The experiment of calling on people of all parties to honor a nominee of one great political party, throwing aside for the moment all feeling, burying all differences of sentiment and opinion, merely to express the personal regard of an entire community for a single citizen, was an experiment that would have been dangerous under all ordinary circumstances. Were the object of the tribute less popular, less universally beloved, esteemed, and respected, such a proceeding would have been a ridiculous failure. Those in charge made no mistake in estimating public regard for Mr. Hobart. The public nobly came forth and responded, because the object was worthy. But we doubt if such a thing could have been done in regard to any other man in any other city of the country.

As said before, it was an event unique in politics, unprecedented in the political history of this or any other country on the whole face of the wide earth. And to this statement we challenge a successful refutation.

Viewed from the centre of the great hall, from out the surging masses, Mr. Hobart, in voice and manner, presented the appearance of a finished orator, and resembled the late Vice-President Arthur. Steady of poise, deliberate of gesture, rotund and periodic of tone and manner. It was a delight to look on this cultured, almost Websterian bearing. The facile and graceful conversationalist; the skilled presiding

officer blossomed into oratorical proportions in a surprisingly beautiful manner, and the Republican party and its cause has in the vice-presidential nominee a graceful talker, or a powerful advocate, as occasion may demand. A fit running mate for the trained McKinley, and a foremost man among the spellbinders.

But those characteristics of the cultured and polished statesman and man of the world were not what drew the whole population of Paterson out to do him honor last night. It was his genial kindliness as a friend and neighbor that has found him a place in the hearts of the people of this city. His wholehearted and democratic friendships made him the man of the people he was shown to be last night, and it was this that made the unprecedented demonstration of last night possible.

SOME OF THE TERMS OF CONGRATULATION TO MR. HOBART.

TERRE HAUTE, IND., June 18.

HON. GARRET HOBART:—I congratulate you most heartily and sincerely, and also the Republicans of our country upon your selection. RUSSELL B. HARRISON.

LENOX, MASS., June 18.

GARRET A. HOBART:—Accept my warmest congratulations upon your nomination. Republican success is assured. Prosperity will follow. JOHN SLOANE.

ST. LOUIS, June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART:—Accept my hearty congratulations and earnest wishes for your success. D. RUSSELL BROWN.

STAMFORD, CONN., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—Accept my sincere and earnest congratulations. GEO. S. DURYEE.

HOBOKEN, N. J., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—Accept the heartiest congratulations of an old-time associate upon the great honor conferred, and to which you are justly entitled.

R. F. RABE.

NEW YORK, June 19.

HON. GARRET A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—Congratulations on the outcome at St. Louis. What will you do with Barbour? This earth is too small for him.

SAMUEL THOMAS.

NEW YORK, June 19.

HON. GARRET A. HOBART:—Accept my heartiest congratulations on your nomination. McKinley and Hobart will sweep the country. DAVID L. EINSTEIN,

President Raritan Woolen Mills.

HOBOKEN, N. J., June 19.

GARRET HOBART:—At dock arriving from Europe. Hearty congratulations. JOHN WANAMAKER.

NEW YORK, June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—I congratulate you on your well-merited honor in the nomination for Vice-President. May you succeed and the country prosper.

S. V. WHITE.

NEW YORK, June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—We all join in heartiest congratulations and best wishes for your election.

SIMON BORG & Co.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART:—Heartiest congratulations.

SAMUEL A. CRAMER.

JERSEY CITY, June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART:—Accept my congratulations. You made a gallant fight, achieved a great victory, and will be a winner. J. HERBERT POTTS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., June 19.

HON. GARRET A. HOBART:—The country is to be congratulated on the nominations of yesterday. They mean good government and prosperity, and will be ratified by the people at the polls in November. I congratulate you personally on the honor so justly conferred. JOHN FIELD.

NEW YORK, June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—We are delighted, and send congratulations to our next Vice-President.

J. & W. SELIGMAN & CO.

OCEAN GROVE, June 19.

HON. GARRET A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—My dear friend and class-mate, accept my heartiest congratulations. God bless you, now and always. THOMAS HANLON.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, REPUBLICAN HEADQUARTERS, PATERSON, N. J.:—An old Patersonian congratulates you on nomination for Vice-President. Election a cinch.

J. J. McNEIL.

TRENTON, N. J., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—My heartiest congratulations on this added evidence of the well-deserved esteem of your countrymen. JONATHAN DIXON.

MADISON, N. J., June 19.

HON. GARRET A. HOBART:—The Republicans of Chatham township send fraternal greeting to our next Vice-President. What has been so well begun at St. Louis will be crowned with glorious success in November. Protection, prosperity, and an honest dollar is the watchword of the people.

JAMES H. McGRAW,
President Republican Club.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART :—Providence puts New Jersey in the Republican line for all time to come, as a free people will elect you to the Vice-Presidency.

SYLVESTER MALONE,
Catholic Pastor and Regent of University of State of New York.

ENGLEWOOD, N. J., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART :—Hearty congratulations from Mr. and Mrs. J. Wyman Jones. [Not signed.]

[Mrs. Jones is a sister of Mr. Hanna.]

NEW YORK, June 19.

MRS. GARRET A. HOBART :—Accept our warmest congratulations on the nomination of your husband. His election is assured.

THOS. L. JAMES,
A. VAN SANTVOORD.
J. E. LAYNG.

LEWISTON, ME., June 19.

MRS. GARRET A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J. :—Congratulations to the country, to the Senate, to you, and to the General.

WILLIAM P. FRYE.

MRS. G. A. HOBART :—Congratulations on the nomination of your distinguished husband.

J. F. STEWART.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., June 19.

MRS. GARRET A. HOBART :—Accept my warmest congratulations on your husband's nomination.

FLAVEL McGEE.

ANSONIA, CONN., June 19.

G. A. HOBART :—Accept congratulations. Hobart, Honesty, and Hurrah, all begin with H.

W. F. OSBORNE.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART :—Accept heartiest congratulations from a grateful friend. Merit never goes unrewarded.

S. D. HOFFMAN.

NEW YORK, June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART :—The Kearny *Republican* sends heartfelt congratulations to its early friend, now the nation's choice.

WILLIAM LOGAN.
J. A. STOWE.

NEW YORK, June 19, 1896.

G. A. HOBART :—New Jersey's favorite son will be the next Vice-President. I congratulate. W. H. FURMAN.

PARIS, June 19, 1896.

To HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J. :—Cordial congratulations. HENRY C. KELSEY.

SPRING LAKE, N. J., June 18.

MRS. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J. :—Myself and family send congratulations to you and your husband's proud success to-day.

JAMES S. CLARKSON.

NEW YORK, June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART :—Accept my heartiest congratulations upon a deserved honor conferred on you and New Jersey. W. J. CURTIS.

ST. PAUL, MINN., June 19.

To GARRET A. HOBART :—Accept congratulations from the Mississippi. Bravo, New Jersey! ROBERT SEWELL.

CLAYTON, N. J., June 19.

To G. A. HOBART :—As glass manufacturers we congratulate you upon your nomination for Vice-Presidency.

MOORE BROS. GLASS CO.

PARIS, June 19, 1896.

To HON. G. A. HOBART :—Carnegie joins in heartiest congratulations, feeling that prosperity is now insured for our Republic. KING.

ERIE DEPOT, NEWARK, June 19.

GARRET A. HOBART, NEXT VICE-PRESIDENT U. S. :—I told you so. See my letter in November.

THOMAS A. MURPHEY.

ELKINS, W. VA., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J. :—Mrs. Elkins joins her warmest congratulations to Mrs. Hobart and yourself on the great honor, well-deserved, that has come to you. The ticket is strong and the people will see that it is elected. Hope to see you soon. S. B. ELKINS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., June 19.

HON. G. A. HOBART, PATERSON, N. J.:—Accept sincere congratulations upon your nomination. With such a cause and such a ticket we cannot fail.

GEO. C. PERKINS, U. S. Senator.

ALBANY, N. Y., June 18.

GARRET A. HOBART :—At a meeting of the Unconditional Republican Club, held this evening, the following was adopted :

Resolved, That the Unconditional Republican Club, of Albany, N. Y., has heard with enthusiasm the nominations by the Republican National Convention of these staunch patriots, sagacious statesmen, and typical Americans, William McKinley and Garret A. Hobart for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, and pledges to them the loyal and earnest support of each and every one of its seven hundred members.

CHARLES C. FINCH, Secretary.

A great many more were received.

The following telegrams have been exchanged :

ST. LOUIS, June 19.

HON. WILLIAM McKINLEY, CANTON :—Accept my hearty congratulations and those of the New Jersey delegation.

GARRET A. HOBART.

CANTON, O., June 19.

HON. GARRET A. HOBART, ST. LOUIS :—I send you my cordial congratulations and wish you might visit me on your way home.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

CHAPTER XXI.

MAJOR McKINLEY FORMALLY NOTIFIED OF HIS NOMINATION.

Chairman Thurston's address to the nominee—McKinley's reply, briefly outlining the issues of the coming campaign—Stands squarely on the Republican platform—The financial honor of the country must be preserved inviolate—Every dollar issued by the Government must be as good as gold—A tariff to protect American labor and raise revenue.

THE Committee, consisting of one member from each State and Territory, which was selected at the St. Louis Convention to convey to Major McKinley the official notification of his nomination, arrived in Canton on a special train from Cleveland at 11.30 o'clock, June 29th.

They were met at the station by a reception committee, composed of some of the foremost citizens of Canton, and were driven in open carriages to Major McKinley's residence, accompanied by a mounted escort. The preparations at Major McKinley's were simple. Seventy-five chairs were placed on the front lawn, under the trees and facing the house. On the rear lawn a large tent was erected, and in it was a

long table, on which covers were laid for a hundred guests.

Major McKinley received the members of the Committee on the veranda. The streets about the house were filled with men, women, and children. The crowd surged in all the gates and pressed close up to the chairs on which they sat. Major McKinley likes to have the people participate as interested spectators in all the functions which take place here. He does not believe in excluding them. Nor will he allow ropes to be stretched across the yard for the purpose of restricting the movements or freedom of the great crowds that come to his home.

The last time Major McKinley saw a Presidential candidate notified of his nomination was four years ago, in Washington. The scene of the action was the White House. Benjamin Harrison was the candidate, and William McKinley made the speech of notification. Harrison, doomed to crushing defeat, stood in the spacious East Room, surrounded by his Cabinet, and a concourse of distinguished people was present. Generals, admirals, diplomats, and men and women of high place in civil life, made up the impressive group.

Now William McKinley, surrounded only by his family, and by the common people, who love him well, standing before his own unpretentious home, listened to the speech, which told him in a formal, official, final way, that he had been chosen as the Presidential candidate of the Republican party.

It was ten minutes past twelve o'clock when the Notification Committee reached Major McKinley's house. Mrs. McKinley and the Major's venerable mother occupied chairs near him on the veranda. His brother's family and his pretty nieces were close about him. The chairs back of the Notification Committee were filled by the ladies of Canton, Columbus, and Cleveland, whose husbands are prominent in business and public affairs. It was a charming open-air scene; sweetly idyllic in character. Frank Hiscock, Senator Thurston, Mark Hanna, and C. N. Fairbanks occupied the first carriage. They were greeted with tremendous cheers. Major McKinley met them outside the gate as they alighted from the carriage, and shook hands warmly.

SENATOR THURSTON'S SPEECH.

Senator Thurston was in excellent voice. His tones were as clear and commanding and far-reaching as they were in the St. Louis Convention Hall. His speech was received with much enthusiasm and applause.

Senator Thurston spoke as follows:

"Governor McKinley, we are here to perform a pleasant duty assigned us by the Republican National Convention, recently assembled at St. Louis, that of formally notifying you of your nomination as the candidate of the Republican party of the United States. We respectfully request your acceptance of this nomination and your approval of the

declaration of the principles adopted by the Convention. We assure you that you are the unanimous choice of a united party, and your candidacy will be immediately accepted by the country as an absolute guarantee of Republican success.

"Your nomination has been made in obedience to a popular demand, whose universality and spontaneity attest the affection and confidence of the plain people of the United States. By common consent you are their champion. Their mighty uprising in your behalf emphasizes the sincerity of their conversion to the cardinal principles of protection and reciprocity as best exemplified in that splendid Congressional Act which justly bears your name. Under it this nation advanced to the very culmination of a prosperity far surpassing that of all other peoples and all other times; a prosperity shared in by all sections, all interests, and all classes; by capital and labor; by producer and consumer; prosperity so happily in harmony with the genius of popular government that its choicest blessings were most widely distributed among the lowliest toilers and the humblest home.

"In 1892 your countrymen, unmindful of your solemn warnings, returned that party to power which reiterated its everlasting opposition to a Protective Tariff and demanded the repeal of the McKinley Act. They sowed the wind; they reaped the whirlwind. The sufferings and losses and disasters to the American people for four years of Democratic Tariff

are vastly greater than those which came to them from four years of civil war.

"Out of it all one great good remains. Those who scorned your counsels speedily witnessed the fulfillment of your prophecies, and, even as the scourged and repentant Israelites abjured their stupid idols and resumed unquestioning alliance to Moses and to Moses' God, so now your countrymen, shamed of their errors, turn to you and to those glorious principles for which you stand, in the full belief that in your candidacy and the Republican platform the end of the wilderness has come, and the promised land of American prosperity is again to them an insured inheritance.

"But your nomination means more than the indorsement of a Protective Tariff, of reciprocity, of sound money, and of honest finance, for all of which you have so steadfastly stood. It means an indorsement of your heroic youth, your faithful years of arduous public services, your sterling patriotism, your stalwart Americanism, your Christian character, and the purity, fidelity, and simplicity of your private life. In all these things you are the typical American; for all these things you are the chosen leader of the people. God give you strength so to bear the honors and meet the duties of that great office for which you are now nominated, and to which you will be elected, that your administration will enhance the dignity and power and glory of this Republic, and secure the safety,

welfare, and happiness of its liberty-loving people."

When Mr. Thurston finished Governor McKinley, who was standing a few feet from him and slightly in his rear, stepped forward, holding the manuscript of his speech in his left hand. He never looked better. His eye was clear, his color good, and he held himself like one who sees victory in the distance. He wore a dark frock-coat, as is his custom, and black trousers. He was greeted with thunderous applause.

MAJOR McKINLEY'S RESPONSE.

Major McKinley read his speech in a clear, far-reaching voice. It was listened to intently, and he was compelled to halt several times by reason of loud applause and cheers.

Mr. McKinley said:

"*Senator Thurston and gentlemen of the Notification Committee of the Republican National Convention:* To be selected as their Presidential candidate by a great party Convention, representing so vast a number of the people of the United States, is a most distinguished honor, for which I would not conceal my high appreciation, although deeply sensible of the great responsibilities of the trust and my inability to bear them without the generous and constant support of my fellow-countrymen. Great as is the honor conferred, equally arduous and important is the duty imposed, and in accepting the one I assume the other,

relying upon the patriotic devotion of the people to the best interests of our beloved country and the sustaining care and aid of Him without whose support all we do is empty and vain.

"Should the people ratify the choice of the great Convention for which you speak, my only aim will be to promote the public good, which in America is always the good of the greatest number, the honor of our country, and the welfare of the people.

SERIOUS ISSUES TO BE SETTLED.

"The questions to be settled in the national contest this year are as serious and important as any of the great governmental problems that have confronted us in the past quarter of a century. They command our sober judgment, and a settlement free from partisan prejudice and passion, beneficial to ourselves and befitting the honor and grandeur of the Republic. They touch every interest of our common country. Our industrial supremacy, our productive capacity, our business and commercial prosperity, our labor and its rewards, our national credit and currency, our proud financial honor, and our splendid free citizenship—the birthright of every American—are all involved in the pending campaign, and thus every home in the land is directly and intimately connected with their proper settlement. Great are the issues involved in the coming election, and eager and earnest the people for their right determination.

A TARIFF NEEDED THAT PROTECTS.

"Our domestic trade must be won back, and our idle working people employed in gainful occupations at American wages. Our home market must be restored to its proud rank of first in the world, and our foreign trade, so precipitately cut off by adverse national legislation, reopened on fair and equitable terms for our surplus agricultural and manufacturing products. Protection and reciprocity, twin measures of a true American policy, should again command the earnest encouragement of the Government at Washington. Public confidence must be resumed, and the skill, the energy, and the capital of our country find ample employment at home, sustained, encouraged, and defended against the unequal competition and serious disadvantages with which they are now contending. The Government of the United States must raise enough money to meet both its current expenses and increasing needs. Its revenues should be so raised as to protect the material interests of our people, with the lightest possible drain upon their resources, and maintain that high standard of civilization which has distinguished our country for more than a century of its existence. The income of the Government, I repeat, should equal its necessary and proper expenditures. A failure to pursue this policy has compelled the Government to borrow money, in a time of peace, to sustain its credit, and pay its daily expenses.

MORE REVENUE NEEDED.

"This policy should be reversed, and that, too, as speedily as possible. It must be apparent to all, regardless of past party ties or affiliations, that it is our paramount duty to provide adequate revenue for the expenditures of the Government, economically and prudently administered. This the Republican party has heretofore done, and this I confidently believe it will do in the future, when the party is again entrusted with power in the executive and legislative branches of our Government. The national credit, which has thus far fortunately resisted every assault upon it, must and will be upheld and strengthened. If sufficient revenues are provided for the support of the Government there will be no necessity for borrowing money and increasing the public debt. The complaint of the people is not against the administration for borrowing money and issuing bonds to preserve the credit of the country, but against the ruinous policy which has made this necessary, owing to the policy which has been inaugurated. The inevitable effect of such a policy is seen in the deficiency in the United States Treasury, except as it is replenished by loans, and in the distress of the people, who are suffering because of the scant demand for their labor and the products of their labor. Here is the fundamental trouble, the remedy for which is the Republican opportunity and duty. During all

the years of Republican control following resumption there was a steady reduction of the public debt, while the gold reserve was sacredly maintained, and our currency and credit preserved without depreciation, taint, or suspicion. If we would restore this policy that brought us unexampled prosperity for more than thirty years under the most trying conditions ever known in this country—the policy by which we made and bought more goods at home and sold more abroad—the trade balance would be quickly turned in our favor, and gold would come to us and not go from us in the settlement of all such balances in the future.

THE COUNTRY'S CREDIT MUST BE PRESERVED.

"The party that supplied, by legislation, the vast revenues for the conduct of our greatest war, that promptly restored the credit of the country at its close, that from its abundant revenues paid off a large share of the debt incurred in this war, and that resumed specie payments, and placed our paper currency upon a sound and enduring basis, can be safely trusted to preserve both our credit and currency with honor, stability, and inviolability. The American people hold the financial honor of our Government as sacred as our flag, and can be relied upon to guard it with the same sleepless vigilance. They hold its preservation above party fealty, and have often demonstrated that party ties avail nothing when the spotless credit of our coun-

try is threatened. The money of the United States, and every kind or form of it, whether of paper, silver, or gold, must be as good as the best in the world. It must not only be current at its full face value at home, but it must be counted at par in any and every commercial centre of the globe. The sagacious and far-seeing policy of the great men who founded our Government, the teachings and acts of the wisest financiers at every stage in our history, the steadfast faith and splendid achievements of the great party to which we belong, and the genius and integrity of our people have always demanded this, and will ever maintain it. The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage-earner, and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt-paying power to the dollar paid to any Government creditor.

"The contest this year will not be waged upon lines of theory and speculation, but in the light of severe practical experience and new and dearly acquired knowledge. The great body of our citizens know what they want, and that they intend to have. They know for what the Republican party stands, and what its return to power means to them. They realize that the Republican party believes that our work should be done at home and not abroad, and everywhere proclaim their devotion to the principles of a Protective Tariff, which, while supplying adequate revenues for the Government, will restore American production and serve the best interests of

American labor and development. Our appeal, therefore, is not to a false philosophy or vain theorists, but to the masses of the American people—the plain, practical people—whom Lincoln loved and trusted, and whom the Republican party has always faithfully striven to serve.

STANDS SQUARELY ON THE PLATFORM.

"The platform adopted by the Republican National Convention has received my careful consideration, and has my unqualified approval. It is a matter of gratification to me, as I am sure it must be to you and Republicans everywhere, and to all our people, that the expressions of its declaration of principles are so direct, clear, and emphatic. They are too plain and positive to leave any chance for doubt or question as to their purport and meaning. But you will not expect me to discuss its provisions at length or in any detail at this time. It will, however, be my duty and pleasure at some future day to make to you, and through you to the great party you represent, a more formal acceptance of the nomination tendered me.

"No one could be more profoundly grateful than I for the manifestation of public confidence, of which you have so eloquently spoken. It shall be my aim to attest this appreciation by an unsparing devotion to what I esteem the best interests of the people, and in this work I ask the counsel and support of you gentlemen and of every other friend of the country.

The generous expressions with which you, sir, convey the official notice of my nomination are highly appreciated, and as fully reciprocated, and I thank you and your associates of the Notification Committee and the great party and Convention at whose instance you come, for the high and exceptional distinction bestowed upon me."

After McKinley's speech, H. H. Smith, of Michigan, presented to him the gavel used by Chairman Thurston at the St. Louis Convention.

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